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NUMISMATIC PANORAMA

(Essays in honour of Late Sh. S.M. Shukla)

6451

Editors

K.K. MAHESHWARI

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Edited by

K.K. Maheshwari

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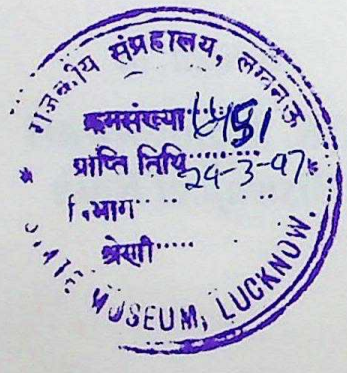

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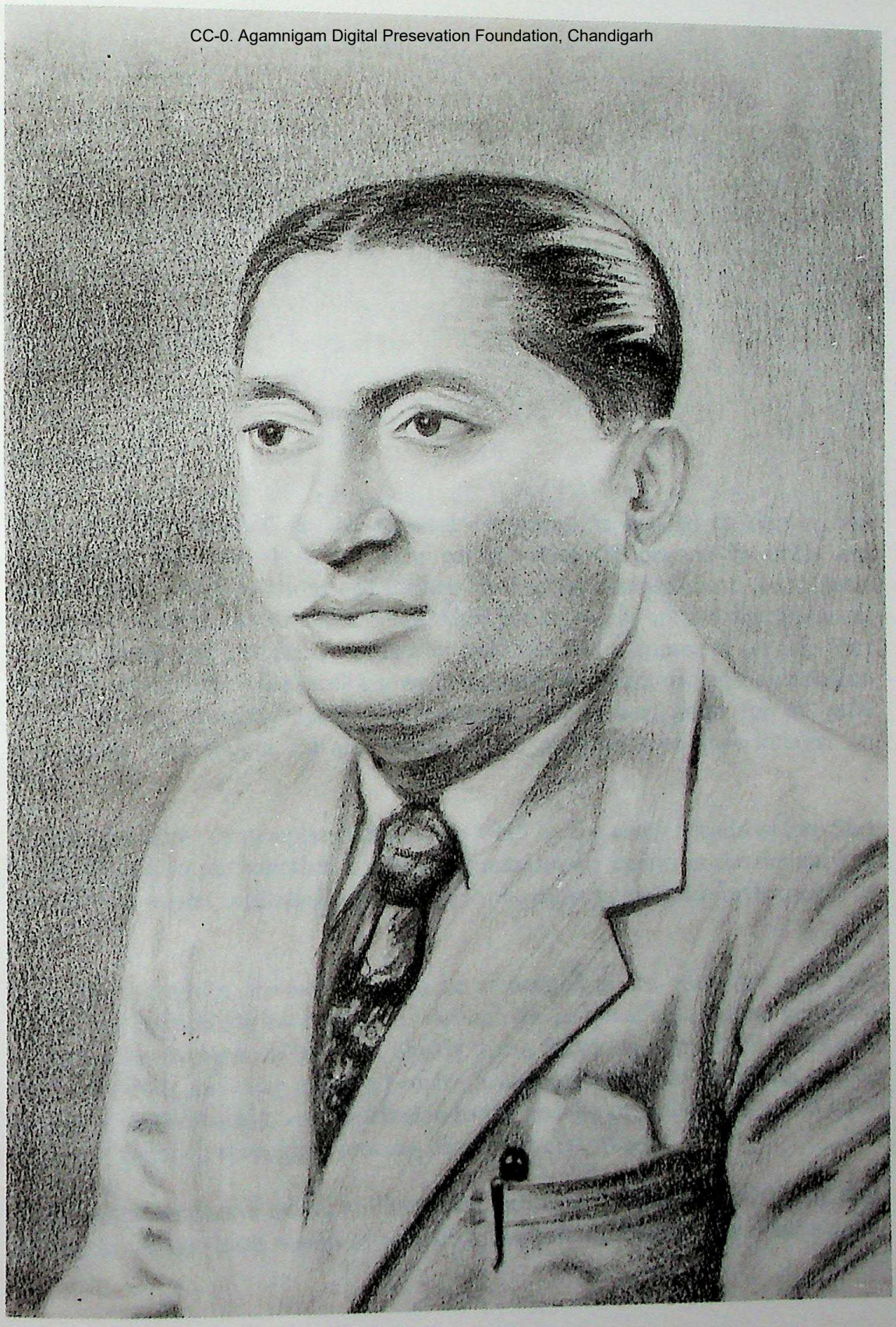

Sadashankar Mansukhlal Shukla

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PREFACE

The term 'Numismatist', in the strictest of senses, is applied to only a few individuals. However, there are many names which fall beyond its ambit and readily evoke one's emotions and feelings during any discussion on the subject. In that list of names, Sadashankar Mansukhlal Shukla stands tall and distinguished, even in death and beyond. It would be only too fair a comment on late Shri Shukla to say that he was as well known to native coin-collectors and numismatists of Bombay as Bombay itself. His residence was a focal point for all such enthusiasts who sought aid and advice in the pursuance of their interest on coins.

It was, therefore, contemplated in January 1995 by the many friends of late Shri S. M. Shukla to put together a volume of numismatic essays in the memory of not only an expert on Indian coins but also the most genial and forthcoming of men.

It is also a singular honour for us to be associated in the compilation of this collection, particularly because it was through the personal association, guidance and keen involvement of late Shri Shukla that a flickering interest on coins was first enkindled, and later grew to become a very essential part of life, in one of us (K. K. Maheshwari); very much akin to the genesis of an embryo which later acquires maturity through a process of careful nurturing.

This volume of essays would not have been possible without the active help and assistance of the team members at Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic

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Studies, Anjaneri (Nashik). Sarvashri Amiteshwar Jha, P. V. Radhakrishnan, Danish Moin, Dilip P. Balsekar and Rehan Ahamad were very forthcoming in helping to see the papers through the various stages of editing and final page-making. We would also like to thank all the contributors for their ready response in sending their papers at such short notice; this only goes to show that the memory of late S. M. Shukla truly survives in the hearts of all his friends. And last, but not least, we would like to register our deep sense of appreciation towards Shri Manjit Singh of Harman Publishing House, who not only agreed to take up this publication within such a short period of time, but also saw to its proper execution.

The editors place this collection of numismatic sketches before the readers as only a humble token of appreciation towards the Man and his Work:

The Body Departs;
The Memory Endures !

K K Maheshwari

K. K. Maheshwari

Biswajeet Rath

Biswajeet Rath

Bombay
December 1995

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S. M. SHUKLA: *LIFE SKETCHES* ...

1911 was a year when events of national, as well as global, importance were being enacted. On the one side, there was the Chinese Revolution and Sun-Yat-Sen, and on the other the transfer of the Indian capital from Calcutta to Delhi. In times such as these, the arrival of one more new born into this world could, at best, be described as a 'non-event'. However, it was in the spring of that 'year of changes' that Sadashankar Mansukhlal Shukla was born in a small village called Bhadla, tucked away in a corner of Rajkot district of Gujarat in India.

The first two formative decades in the life of S. M. Shukla were perhaps no different than that of any other. However, it was around the year 1934 and his coming to Bombay that S. M. Shukla received an initiation to the subject of coins. One has to bear in mind that those were the days of pre-independence, when coins and coin collecting were essentially the preserve of a few Englishmen who were fascinated by everything Indian, including coins. In spite of that, S.M. Shukla started working at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and took up the subject of coins as an area of special interest. He sustained this interest — or this interest sustained him ! — through the years 1936-1940, and again from 1942-1953, when he was professionally engaged as Manager in the Raval Tiles Factory at Madras and Bombay respectively.

The early years in Bombay also saw S. M. Shukla being a much sought after advisor on coins and coin collections by various Museums as well as private

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individuals and public Institutions. In fact, this remained a part and parcel of his life upto to the very end. "Shuklaji", as he was sometimes fondly called, was never at a loss, and always willing, to render any such advise and help to one and all. In fact, one can even go so far as to say that it would not have done his purse-strings much harm had he accepted remuneration for such services from his many solicitors. However, making material gains out of his love of numismatics was not acceptable to him; and all who were acquainted with him only remember him as a man who believed in the "Giving" rather than in the "Taking". It is not surprising, therefore; that various Institutions awarded S. M. Shukla with certificates of merit in recognition.

In his official capacity, S. M. Shukla served, at various points of time, as Honorary Numismatic Advisor to the Prince of Wales Museum, The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Lala Kailas Pat Singhania Museum, Bombay, and Bartan Museum, Bhavnagar. He was also member of a number of numismatic and non-numismatic associations and organisations, including the Indian History Congress, Numismatic Society of Bombay (which was formed in the 1970's and became a sort of a trendsetter for many numismatic societies), Gujarat Itihas Parishad, Numismatic Society of Madhya Pradesh, Bangalore Numismatic Society and Indian Archaeological Society, Delhi.

In the autumn and winter of his life, S. M. Shukla served, first as the President, and then as Trustee, of the Bombay Arya Samaj.

The difference between theory and practice is perhaps nowhere better exemplified, in any other discipline, as numismatics. All 'theory' and no 'practice' does not make a good numismatist; for that matter, it does not even make a good coin collector. "Shuklaji" was all 'practice' and very little 'theory' — that made him a very knowledgeable numismatist, and an outstanding coin collector and advisor. One so often finds a long list of bibliography which is seen, and quite correctly as the measure of an academic man. However, in the case of S. M. Shukla, his bibliography could, in a sense, be listed in terms of the innumerable individuals and Institutions who took his help and assistance, and were able to decipher their coins of various historical epochs. S. M. Shukla was not, by any means, a voracious writer, and his published work on numismatics could well be summed

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up between the pages of a couple of articles published in Journals such as *Numismatic Digest* (to which he contributed an article on Junagadh titled "Junagadh Rupee of Azam Shah" and another on "An Enigmatic Kutch Kori") and *Journal of Numismatic Society* of India. He wrote sparingly on paper, but will always be remembered as a person who wrote onto peoples' minds rather than onto paper.

Other than his Work, his personal acquaintances recall him equally strongly as a Man. One would so often find him in his *Khadi* shirt and with the perpetual *paan* (betal). One also remembers his jovial and easy nature; and his ability to take self-criticism in his stride, a faculty which very few can genuinely boast of.

S. M. Shukla left us for his heavenly abode in March 1992, remaining an energetic coin expert from the 1940's right upto the end. He will, for time immemorial, prevail in the fond memory of all who knew him, and perhaps in even those who will get to know of him in these few pages which have attempted to perform the rather uphill task of reducing all of the late Shri S. M. Shukla's contributions to the Black and White.

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MY MEMORIES OF S. M. SHUKLA

R. C. Senior

From 1979 when I first met S. M. Shukla, visits to his eyrie on top of Ravan Buildings became the highlight of my many trips to Bombay. It was the airy atmosphere, the breezy coolness, tinted with a pleasant aromatic hint of betel and *pan* coupled with his easy charm that engendered a feeling of relaxation and calm in the otherwise busy and burning city. We could chat at length about Guptas and Kshatrapas and, after he had gleaned what information he could from me, he would tempt me with tit-bits of his own. New types, clear readings and past treasures were all discussed with the excitement that only two fanatic collectors can have for an obscure subject that only they can understand.

Shuklaji had kept the science of Numismatics alive when it had been in the doldrums during the post-Independence years, but lived to see the re-birth of interest among his many young acolytes in the last decade or so. Like a flower in the desert, there were many years of dry emptiness with his treasures hidden from view and only the rare blooming when a visitor brought a drop of interest to water his seed and share the glory. The eighties brought about a great change in climate and steady rain began to descend and all the accumulated knowledge, wisdom and experience could be shared before it was too late. He was truly the doyen of Bombay Numismatists. Shuklaji will be remembered with affection for as long anyone who knew him survives. In my short paper (pp. 143-48 of this volume), I illustrate a countermarked copper coin that is particularly relevant to Shuklaji and his special love of the Western Kshatrapas.

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1

ON INDUS SEAL: THE UNICORN

Kalpana S. Desai

The interpretation of the motifs on the Indus seals has been as enigmatic as the script itself. In fact, just as the written evidence — despite the efforts of scholars — is still to be conclusively deciphered, the contents of these seals are also subject to hypothesis and remain to be finally confirmed. Indus Valley seals and sealings generally bear animal motifs, in order of descending numbers, of the so called Unicorn, the humped bull, the elephant, the lion and the rhino. Very few seals have different motifs such as the composite animal (in reality depicting a particular movement of the head), the ithiphallyic figure, the tree emerging from a woman, and some others.

Scholars have variously explained these motifs, and their interpretations range from highly religious to purely non-religious symbolism. Dr. S. R. Rao advocates that these animals must be the symbols of the deity the owners venerated, as he says, "the owner of the seal got engraved the figure of a mythical or real animal which symbolised the deity he venerated"[1]. And he thinks it may be partly totemic. On the other hand Sir Mortimer Wheeler totally rules out the possibility of these seals being "religious or descriptive"[2].

Even though use of such seals is a common phenomenon of the contemporary civilizations, the seals of Indus Valley are distinct in terms of their design and

1. S. R. Rao, *Dawn and Devolution of Indus Civilization*, New Delhi, 1991[henceforth Rao (1991)], p. 194.
2. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Civilizations of the Indus Valley and Beyond*, London, 1966, p. 40.

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symbolism. The animal motifs are common to all; however, the Mesopotamian seals primarily bear the mythical figures such as Ann or Ishtar and other deities with whom the high ranking official is seen. Sometimes, the official is seen engaged in conversation with, or offering a gift to, the deity. The only exceptions to these are the Akkadian seals which bear purely geometric designs on them. The Egyptian seals also fall in line with the Mesopotamian seals with a host of their mythical deities such as Osiris, Horus and others[3]. A number of Aegean seals[4] discovered from Crete of that period bear the motif of royal insignia of the throne and the sceptre, and others have plant, animal and human motifs of many varieties, sometimes with a few hieroglyphs which are indicative of the position of the owner or the function he performs as a member of the royal administration. In case of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian seals, there are varied designs and equally varied inscriptions. In the case of Crete, there are varied designs but fewer and to some extent similar kinds of inscriptions. In the case of Indus Valley seals, three distinct peculiarities are to be noted:

1. Very few symbols are used.
2. Majority of the symbols on these seals are animals.
3. The text on the seals is not duplicated.

As far as the function of these seals is concerned, the discoveries from Lothal[5] have been quite revealing. Out of 213 seals and sealings discovered, as many as 65 sealings found in the warehouse bear the impression of the seal on one side and packing material such as cloth, bamboo mats, reeds or cords on the other, proving conclusively that these seals were primarily used for sealing merchandise. Besides, it has to be borne in mind that out of more than 3000 seals and sealings available from the Indus sites[6], 2000 are found from Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa and 213 from Lothal, indicating that the concentration of the seals has been in the metropolises and the port town only. From this, it is evident that these seals do not belong to individual and independent merchants because, if they did, the designs and symbols

3. For motifs on the cylindrical seals, both Mesopotamian and Egyptian, see L. A. Waddell, *Cylindrical Seals*, London, 1925 and other books by the same author.
4. Gustave Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, London, 1925, pp. 151, 343, 344.
5. S. R. Rao, *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*, Bombay, 1982, p. 2416.
6. Rao (1991), p. 192.

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carved on them would have been different to indicate different ownership as in the case of Mesopotamian seals. Since the motifs are repeated and the inscriptions are varied, it may be surmised that each symbol belonged to one group or one organisation, the members of which used the same symbol on their seals for their own identity. Whether it is the king or the collective leadership of the State or an organisation, it is certain that the owners of the seal of a particular motif have the same identity. Quite unlike the seals of other civilisations which suggest individual identity, the motifs of the Indus seals indicate a definite group identity. It could be a guild or a clan, or it is possible that these could have been issued by an authority — either the king or the State. However, it does not seem likely that they were used exclusively by the king. One wonders why such a large number of seals would be required to manage the affairs of a comparatively much smaller State?

It is obvious that the Indus Valley culture is not pre-occupied with mythological divinities, who would have otherwise appeared on the seals. Certain animals on the other hand occupy a place of importance — which could be either a totem or a clan symbol. Ethnographic studies indicate that the clan system generally has a territory with a capital assigned to their spiritual God. The clan sometimes takes the name after the territory also. The spiritual God, who is an animal, is worshipped as a totem.

It may be interesting to investigate and find out the clans or the tribes whose symbols are used on the Indus seals. Out of the 3000 seals discovered so far from the Indus Valley sites, 1159 bear the motif of an animal generally described by scholars as 'Unicorn' (Fig. 1). Some scholars have even tried to identify it as a mythical animal because of the single horn. It is an undisputed fact that the seal carvers of the Indus Valley were masters of their craft and produced astonishingly realistic images of the bull, the rhinoceros and other animals. This also indicates the artists' proximity to these animals as it would have otherwise been difficult to achieve such perfection in their artistic rendering. Depiction of a single horn on the animal is not a rarity as far as the proto-historic seals are concerned. They find place even in Sumer and Crete. Besides, even in the fantasy of depicting imaginary or a composite animal, the main animal intended is generally clearly defined, for instance a winged lion. The multi-headed images seem to depict the animation of movement of the head. Therefore, a minute study of the characteristics of the Indus Valley 'Unicorn' may help us to identify this animal.

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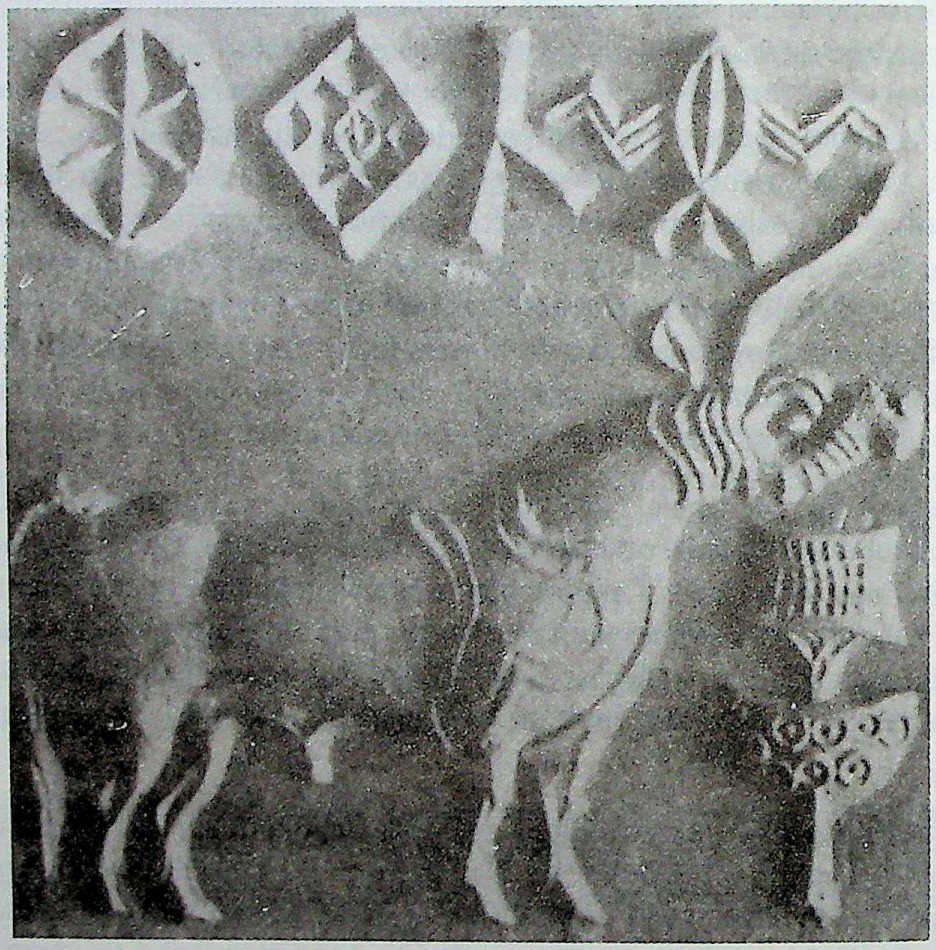

Fig. 1. *A bovine showing only one horn, generally described as Unicorn. Seal; Mohen-Jo-Daro; Indus Valley period.*

The main characteristics of the figure of this animal are: it has hoofs as well as a shortened toe, long tail, heavy muscles around the shoulders, (particularly the front ones), folds at the neck, small eyes, peculiar mouth and no hump. The animal is undoubtedly a bovine belonging to the family of the *gaur* or bison. However, two very prominent features distinguishing this animal from the *gaur* or bison are 1) the presence of a very large horn and 2) total absence of the hump. The bison or the bull has a big hump and the *gaur* has a thick protrusion — "a heavy muscular ridge upon

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its shoulders which slopes down to the middle of the back where it ends in an abrupt dip"[7]. One may even be inclined to identify it with an ibex or a wild goat because of the long horn, but both these animals possess a beard and a very short tail. The type of bovine which would fit into these characteristics is the wild buffalo or the water buffalo — "A large thickset, clumsy creature, with huge splayed hoofs, the water buffalo stands 5 to 6 ft. at the shoulder. It has a long narrowed face and the span of its flattened crescent shaped horns is the largest of all bovines; they can measure as much as 4 ft. long".

Fig. 2. *A man (head of a community?) offering the goat to a divinity installed near a tree or a tree divinity. Seal; Mohen-Jo-Daro.*

7. S. H. Pratar, *The Book of the Mammals*, Bombay, 1971, p. 243.

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The only feature which puzzles us is a single horn appearing to rise above the head in a slight curve. A careful look at the seals bearing this animal reveals that this is the only type of animal under whose neck the ritual object is placed. Generally, the object placed before other animals is a kind of trough or a tub from which the animal eats. In these cases the animals are naturally depicted with their heads bent down with both the horns clearly visible. The animals which are just standing are portrayed in part profile which enables the artist to carve both the horns. In this particular case, the artist seems to be faced with the problem of space as he has to

Fig. 3. *Goat with one of the horns placed as on the Unicorn. Seal; Mohen-Jo-daro.*

accommodate the large ritual vessel (vessels ?). This constraint of space may have led him to choose to depict the animal in sharp profile. It is also very likely that this

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particular pose of the buffalo had become a proto-type derived from a scene at the time of the sacrificial ritual, and has acquired an iconic significance. This presumption is corroborated by a seal found from Harappa where the Goddess is standing in-between an arch or a circle made of twigs of Banyan tree and a man wearing two horns on his head is seated in front of her in supplication, indicating the offering of an animal, a goat, standing behind him. This goat is standing in the same pose as the buffalo on the seals under discussion. The entire scene seems to depict an animal sacrifice made to the Goddess, whose shrine or abode is inside or under the tree. The seven horned figures standing in a row may be dancers celebrating the event, a scene which is common in the tribal areas even today (Fig. 2). Another seal discovered from Lothal interestingly depicts a goat with the ritual vessel seen in front of the 'Unicorn'. In another similar depiction from Mohen-Jo-Daro, though the goat is clearly distinguished by a short upraised tail, two horns curved inwards and a short beard, the pose of the goat is exactly the same as that of the 'Unicorn' (Fig. 3). Its identification as buffalo is also supported by a couple of seals of the same animal shown with two horns where the identification of the animal is very certain (Fig. 4).

Buffalo also figures on a couple of Sumerian cylindrical seals which are exactly in the same form with slightly more curved horns. Several buffaloes are seen around what looks like a religious precinct (Fig. 5).

The overpowering number of seal bearing this buffalo from the Indus Valley sites suggests that whoever the owners of this type of seals were must have been very powerful and influential and may even be occupying the seat of power there. It also emerges that they must be the people who were identified by the buffalo as their symbol and probably sacrificed it as well.

What could have been the name of these people connected with the buffalo at the time of the Indus Valley civilization, one does not know so far. However, later literature is full of information about the people named after the buffalo as *Mahisha*. Katyayana, while explaining the *sutra* of Panini on the derivatives for the names of tribes of warriors in the sense of 'one sprung from an individual belonging to that tribe,'[8] also adds that Mahishmati is so called because it contains *Mahishas* or

8. On Panini's *Sutra*, 4, 2, 87.

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Fig. 4. *A buffalo with both the horns. The face is identical to that of Fig. 1.*

buffaloes. According to the *Dharmashastras,* the son of the *Kshatriya* man and *Vaishya* woman is called *Mahishya*. *Mahabharata* clearly mentions *Mahisha* as being of low origin who do not have *Brahmanas*. It is also stated, "one should avoid the Karaskaras, Mahishakas, Kalingas, Keralas, Karkotas and Viratas who follow the path of vice.[9]" They are considered *asuras* and are described as inhabitants of the place to the south of Saurashtra. However, more revealing is an ancient legend narrated in the *Vana Parvan* of the *Mahabharata* about an *asura* called Mahisha who was killed by Skanda[10]. It is narrated that once, after Skanda was annointed as the leader of the celestial army, Mahadeva and Parvati repaired to a

9. *Ibid*, 8, 44 ff.
10. *Mahabharata, Vanaparvan,* 233, 234.

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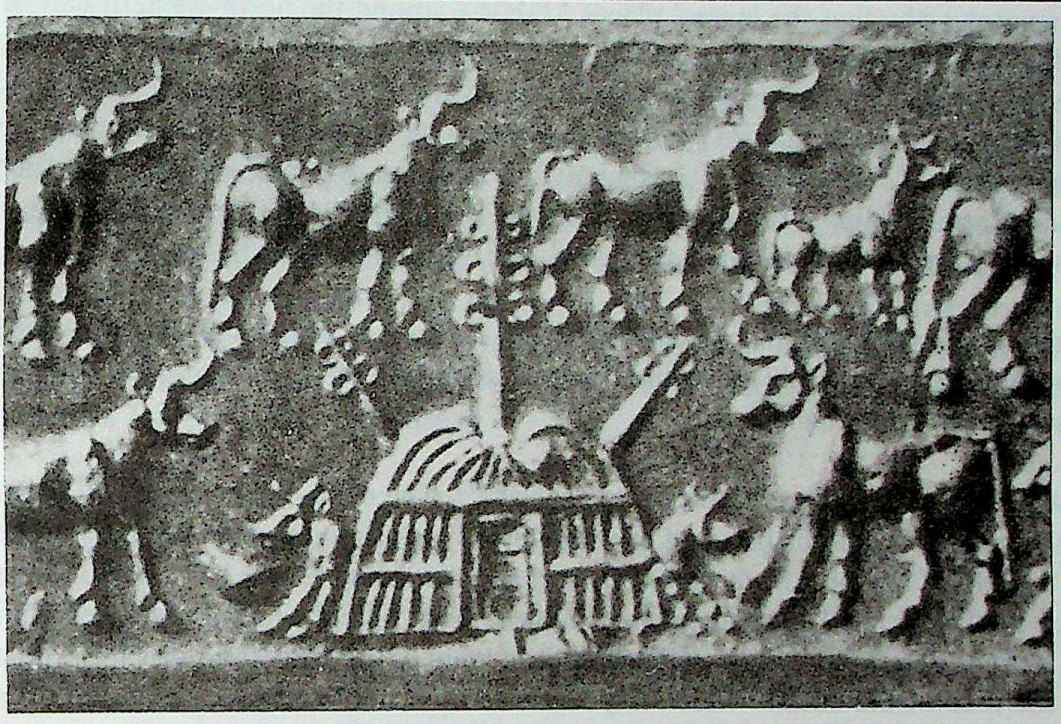

Fig. 5. *Animal showing only one horn (in sharp profile) near a sacred precinct. Cylindrical seal Mesopotamian, Jamdet Nasr period. Baghdad Museum.*

place called Bhadravata. A grand procession was marching accompanied by several Gods, *Yakshas*, and others who guarded different quarters of his army. Skanda, the son of Karittika, surrounded by the celestial beings, also followed Mahadeva. Mahadeva ordered him to command the seventh army corps of the celestial forces. Afterwards, prodigies of various kinds occurred to disturb them and created a lot of confusion among the Gods. And when they had fallen into a state of confusion, there appeared before them a fierce and mighty host armed with various weapons and looking like a mass of clouds and rocks. These terrible beings, speaking different languages, attacked the Gods with various weapons. A fierce fight ensued, causing a lot of loss and damage to both the sides. Then suddenly there came forward a *danava* called Mahisha who hurled a huge rock at the enemy. He struck terror in the army of Gods and his *danavas* fell upon them like a lion attacking a herd of deer. When Mahisha seized the chariot of Rudra, Skanda advanced in rage towards Mahisha and discharged a bright *shakti* which cut off the head of Mahisha. His massive head fell on the ground and barred the entrance of the Northern Kurus.

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It is noteworthy that the legend places Mahisha around the north-western part of India, portrays his folk as *danavas* who speak different languages and also mentions the final conquest of Mahadeva. If one were to accept this legend as a survival of past history, then the famous Pashupati seal can be interpreted with certainty as the subjugation of four tribes by Pashupati, the four tribes represented by the four animals around him — the elephant, tiger, the rhino and the buffalo. Buffalo in that case would represent the Mahishas, as earlier suggested by Fr. Heras[11].

Mahisha must have been an ancient tribe or a *Janapada*. A few coins[12] discovered from Kondapur or Maski in Andhra Pradesh, datable to the 2nd-3rd c. AD, bear the name *Mahisha* on them.

Later literature is full of references to Mahisha[13]. The myth of *Mahishasurmardini* is too well-known to be narrated here. Mahishas are also connected with the origin of the city of Mysore (from *Mahishasura*) and the ruling family has Chamunda as their tutelary deity. The village deities in these areas take the buffalo sacrifice. Shri H. Krishna Sastri[14] has given an interesting account of the ritual followed at the time of sacrifice of the buffalo which is performed by a non-Brahmin. He writes, "on such occasions it is stated that the Sudra priest takes the place of the usual Brahmana and an entrance opening directly into other court-yard of the temple, kept closed on other days of the year, is now thrown open for the Goddess to receive animal sacrifice and worship from her Sudra and other devotees". After the annual festival is over, the Goddess is purified and the buffalo is sacrificed in front of Her. Mahishamma[15] is another folk deity in Varhad (Maharashtra). The devotees sacrificed the buffalo, cut-off its head and bury it in front of the house of the village chief. Even in Bengal, in the village of Malluthi in Birbhum dist., a buffalo is sacrifice to Kali by the *Shakla-Brahmanas i.e.*, the worshippers of Kali, on the day of Kali *Puja*[16] (the day of the darker half of the month of *Aswin*).

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11. Fr. Henry Heras, *Studies on Proto-Indo Mediterranean Culture*, Bombay, 1945, p. 195.
12. Kalpalata Munshi, *The Mahisa and Mahisakas*, Bharatiya Vidya, 7, 1946, pp. 90-91.
13. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, New Delhi, 1960, pp. 188-191; V. V. Mirashi, *JNSI*, 11, pp. 1 ff.
14. M. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Madras, 1916, p. 229.
15. Prahladkrishna Prabhudesai, *Devikosh*, Pune, 1968, 3, p. 116.
16. Information provided by Shri Sabyasachi Mukherjee, Prince of Wales Museum.

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Mahishas, who were once at the helm of affairs of the commercial centres of Mohen-Jo-Daro and Harappa, moved towards the south on being compelled by defeat and degradation. The remnants of the people who worship buffalo are still present in the remote areas of the upper Narmada Valley. Their deity, named Mhasoba[17] (*Mahisha* corrupted into *Mhasa,* with a suffix *ba* for respect), is not manifest in any particular form but symbolically installed under a tree on the outskirts of the village. A buffalo is annually sacrificed in front of the deity, and its head is severed and one of the legs cut and placed on the mouth, followed by some *tantrik* ceremonies. Bhainasura (or *Bhainsasura* again meaning buffalo *asura*) is another name for a similar deity worshipped in the remote areas of the upper Narmada Valley[18], closer to Gujarat.

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17. See Footnote no. 15.

18. See Shamrao Hivale, *The Pardhans of the Upper Narmada Valley*, 1946.

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2

TWO SILVER PUNCH MARKED COIN HOARDS

Rehan Ahamad

This paper seeks to present the data from two hoards of silver Punchmarked coins from Taregna and Bhalna in Bihar which are adjacent to each other. Coins of both these hoards are of the Imperial or Universal type. The nomenclature 'Imperial' was given by Dr. P. L. Gupta[1]. He classified the silver Punchmarked coins into two broad categories which he called 'Local' and 'Imperial'[2]. The latter refers to those coins which generally have five symbols on the obverse and which are found over an extensive area of the Indian Sub-continent. The wide area of their circulation was taken to indicate the fact that they were issued by an authority which had political control over an extensive area. This could only be an Imperial power and hence the use of the term 'Imperial'. In contrast, the Local or Janapada have fewer number of symbols and are found in a restricted area. This classification of silver Punchmarked coins is now generally accepted.

The Imperial Punchmarked coins have further been classified into several classes and series[3]. The sun and six-armed symbols, uniformly seen on most of the coins, are placed as first and second marks respectively. It is the other three symbols that

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1. P. L. Gupta, "The Chronology of Punchmarked Coins" in A. K. Narain and L. Gopal (ed.), *The Chronology of the Punchmarked Coins*, BHU, Dept of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Varanasi, 1966, pp. 1-18.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Gupta and Hardaker, *Ancient Indian Silver Punchmarked Coins of the Magadha Maurya Karshapana Series*, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nashik, 1985.

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have a major role in this classification system. All the varieties which have one of these symbols in common are said to constitute one class, the common symbol being called 'class symbol' and given the third place. Then within the varieties constituting a class, many coins have another common symbol amongst themselves. Thus, within a class they form a distinct group. This common symbol is termed as 'group symbol' and placed as the fourth mark. The remaining fifth symbol is exclusive to its variety and is called 'variety symbol'.

Thus each symbol in the group of five symbols has a fixed place of its own. The classes are further grouped together under a broader term, 'series'. But this grouping of series is not based on symbology but on other considerations like style, size, extra-marks, debasement, grouping of class marks, presence or absence of sun and six-armed symbols, the restruck coins and the evidence of a few key hoards. On the basis of these factors, the Imperial Punchmarked coins have been classified into seven series which are placed in a chronological order. Within each series are placed a number of classes, and within each class one or more group consisting of varieties. In this system no order has been given to the varieties within the group, groups within the classes and classes within the series. In other words, the ordering of varieties has no chronological significance; only the series are placed in the chronological order.

It is thus clear from this classification that the different classes, groups and varieties within a series do not have any chronological implication. Another point was to see whether any group or variety was peculiar to the region from which the hoards originated.

For classifying the coins of the two hoards, the system outlined by Gupta and Hardaker was followed[4]. It should also be noted that the classification of the coins was made after studying the photographs which are available in the Photo Archives of Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies.

Taregna is a village located in the Masaurhi Police Station in the Patna district, and it was from here that one of the hoards under study was discovered in the

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4. *Ibid.*

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year 1925[5]. This village is quite close to ancient Pataliputra, the distance between Masaurhi and the present headquarters of Patna district of the same name being only about 30 kilometers. It is not unlikely that Taregna might have been located in the histerland of ancient Pataliputra.

The Taregna hoard is said to have contained 254 coins[6], although there is some discrepancy about the number of coins. Some coins of this hoard were distributed amongst some of the principal museums of India[7].

The details of the distributed coins are as below:
8 coins to Indian Museum, Calcutta
6 coins to State Museum, Lucknow
5 coins to Central Museum, Nagpur
5 coins to Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay
2 coins to Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay

At present, only 205 coins of this hoard are deposited in Patna Museum. This, together with the distributed coins, brings the total to only 231 coins; so, if originally the hoard contained 254 coins, the details of the remaining 23 coins are not known.

The other hoard under study was found in the village Bhalna in the Belaganj Police Station in Gaya district in 1941-42 or 1948[8]. This hoard contained 129 silver Punchmarked coins, all deposited in the Patna Museum. Presently, no information is available to the author as to whether any other historical objects were recovered from the Bhalna village or not. But as regards Belaganj, the Police Station in the jurisdiction of which Bhalna is located appears to have been a place of some historical importance in early times. It is reported that ruins of some temples and Buddhist and Hindu images were seen here by Beglar in the

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5. *ASI, AR*, 1925-26, p. 168; 1930-34, p. 302.
6. *Ibid.*
7. P. L. Gupta, "Bibliography of the Hoards of Punchmarked Coins of Ancient India", Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 2, *JNSI*, 17, 1955.
8. *Ibid.*, where the date of the find of the hoard is given as 1948. On the other hand, H. K. Prasad ("Coin Hoards from Bihar", *INC*, 8, 1970, p. 62) gives the date 1941-42.

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19th century[9]. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the Barabar caves are only 3 miles away from Bhalna.

The classification of the coins below (Table 1) shows that the coins in both the hoards begin with Series III and continue up to Series VII. The maximum number of coins in both the hoards, however, belong to Series VI:

Series	Taregna Hoard (Total 205 coins examined) No. Coins	Bhalna Hoard (Total 129 coins examined) No. Coins
III	4	01
IV	31	07
V	35	12
VI	119	106
VII	06	01
Unidentified	10	02

Coins of Series III and VII, on the other hand, are extremerly few in number in both the hoards. This could mean, if we take the different series in a chronological order, that these hoards were deposited in the period when Series VI stopped and Series VII began. It will be instructive here to consider the dates assigned by Gupta and Hardakar to Series V, VI and VII. Series V and VI are given the same period. Both these series are classified into categories Va, Vb, VIa and VIb. The criteria used for this classification is the presence, or absence, of bold reverse marks. Thus, Va and VIa are both without bold reverse marks and are assigned to the same period. The coins of Vb and VIb, on the other hand, are with bold reverse marks and placed together. Series VII is assigned a small life, and given a period which is contemporaneous with the middle phase of Series Vb and VIb.

The condition of coins of Series V, VI and VII in these hoards, as could be made out from the photographs, do not appear to be worn out, although it has been suggested that coins of Series VI are often found very worn in the hoards[10].

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9. D. R. Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar*, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1963, pp. 36-37.
10. P. L. Gupta and T. R. Haradaker, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

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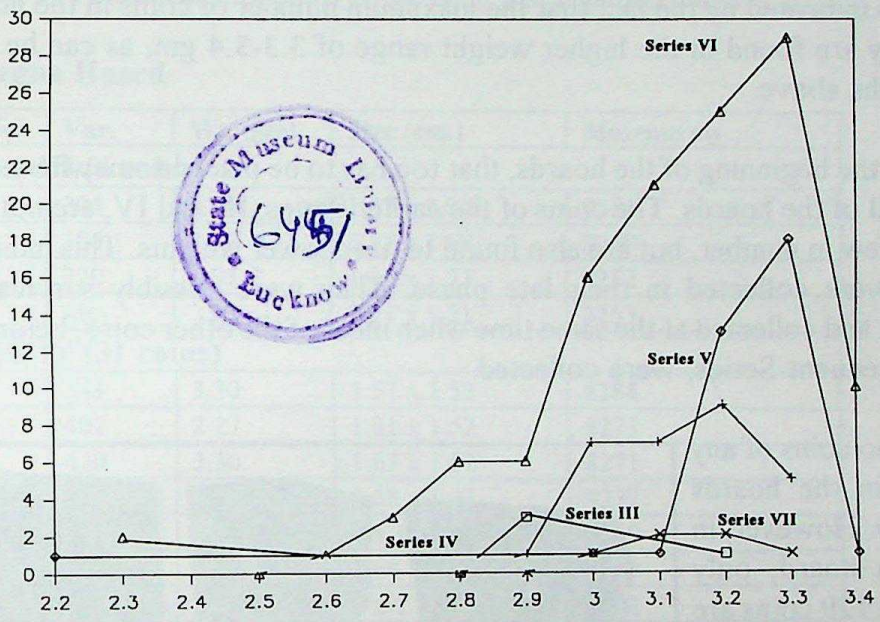
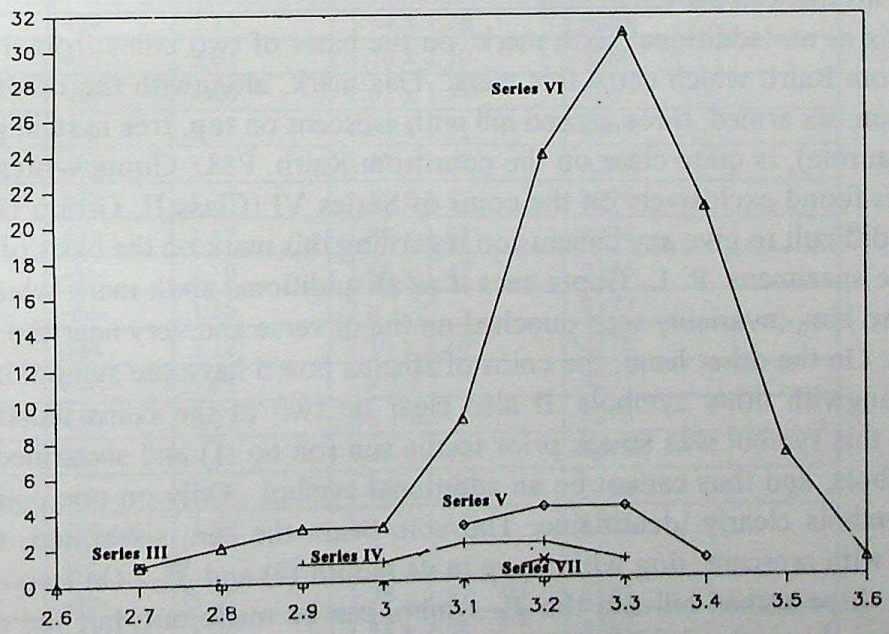


State Museum Library Lucknow (645)

Weight Chart for Taregna Hoard



Weight Chart for Bhalna Hoard

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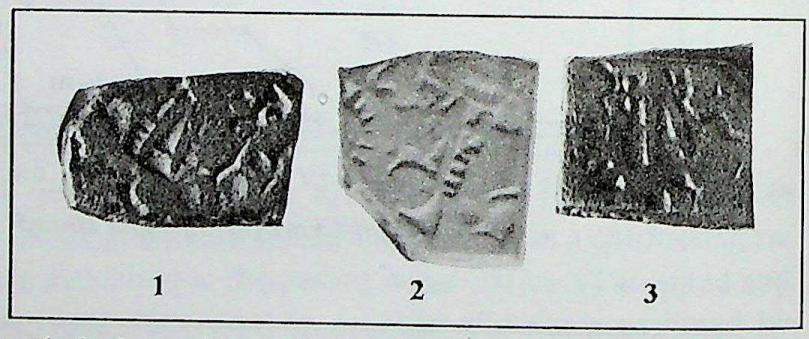
This is also indicated by the fact that the maximum number of coins in the hoards under study are found in the higher weight range of 3.3-3.4 gm, as can be seen in the graphs above.

As regards the beginning of the hoards, that too has to be placed somewhere close to the burial of the hoards. The coins of the earlier Series, III and IV, are not only extremely few in number, but are also found to have lower weights. This indicates that they were collected in their late phase. They were possibly survivals in circulation, and collected at the same time when most of the other coins, belonging to the subsequent Series, were collected.



There are no coins of any new type in the hoards under study. However, in the Bhalna hoard, only three of the 129 coins are found to have the mark . P. L. Gupta has discussed this mark in his Ph.D. thesis as an 'additional sixth mark' on the basis of two coins from Taxila and one from Rairh which carry this mark. This mark, alongwith the other five symbols (sun, six armed, three arched hill with crescent on top, tree in railing and bull with taurine), is quite clear on the coin from Rairh. P. L. Gupta writes that this mark is found exclusively on the coins of Series VI (Class II, Group I). We feel that it difficult to give any conclusion regarding this mark on the basis of only four or five specimens. P. L. Gupta sees it as an additional sixth mark which is, according to him, invariably seen punched on the obverse and very near the edge of the coin. On the other hand, the coins of Bhalna hoard have the symbol in the middle, alongwith other symbols. It also clear on two of the coins illustrated above that this symbol was struck prior to the sun (on no. 1) and six-armed (on no. 2) symbols, and thus cannot be an additional symbol. Only on one coin are the five symbols clearly identifiable. The coin bears the sun, six-armed, three arched hill with crescent, dog with a pup in its mouth (?) and . On two other coins, sun, three arched hill and the symbol can be made out, but the other symbols are only partly visible on the flan, and difficult to identify.

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Table 1. Classification details of Taregna and Bhalna Hoards

Taregna Hoard

Sl. No.	Var.	Wt. (gm)	Size (cm.)	Museum no.
Series III (4 coins)				
1.	304	2.99	1.57 x 2.05	8254
2.	305	2.96	2.31 x 1.68	8250
3.	320	2.93	1.89 x 1.73	8252
4.	-do-	3.23	2.21 x 1.21	8253
Series IV (31 coins)				
5.	344	3.30	1.57 x 1.52	8284
6.	402	2.27	1.21 x 1.52	8273
7.	410	3.30	1.63 x 1.52	8271
8.	415	3.08	1.68 x 1.31	8272
9.	416	3.27	2 x 1.57	8259
10.	-do-	3.10	1.68 x 1.73	8260
11.	-do-	3.38	2 x 1.52	8261
12.	-do-	3.18	1.63 x 1.36	8262
13.	-do-	3.03	1.78 x 1.47	8263
14.	419	3.08	1.73 x 1.57	8265
15.	424	3.15	1.84 x 1.26	8264
16.	427	3.03	1.78 x 2.10	8266
17.	-do-	3.08	1.63 x 1.57	8267
18.	-do-	3.47	1.84 x 1.31	8268
19.	-do-	3.28	1.57 x 1.68	8269
20.	433	3.20	1.73 x 1.57	8270
21.	442	3.17	1.89 x 1.52	8274
22.	-do-	3.19	1.68 x 1.47	8275
23.	-do-	3.36	2 x 1.26	8277
24.	444	3.12	2.10 x 1.10	8276
25.	448	3.08	2 x 1.57	8251
26.	450	3.22	2 x 1.47	8278
27.	-do-	3.21	1.78 x 1.42	8279
28.	-do-	3.06	1.78 x 1.52	8280
29.	450 to 466	1.69	1.31 x 1.15	8283
30.	-do-	3.25	1.78 x 1.57	8281
31.	465/466	2.95	1.84 x 1.52	8282
32.	468	3.32	1.89 x 1.63	8255

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Sl. No.	Var.	Wt. (gm)	Size (cm.)	Museum no.
33.	471	3.27	1.68	8258
34.	-do-	3.22	1.94 x 1.31	8257
35.	-do-	3.19	1.68 x 1.26	8258
Series V (35 coins)				
36.	477	3.34	1.47 x 1.36	8291
37.	-do-	3.30	1.42 x 1.52	8292
38.	-do-	3.38	1.84 x 1.31	8293
39.	-do-	3.27	1.21 x 1.57	8294
40.	479	3.35	1.57	8295
41.	480	3.37	1.42	8296
42.	482	3.38	1.21 x 1.15	8285
43.	-do-	3.37	1.42 x 1.05	8287
44.	-do-	2.21	1.42 x 1.15	8288
45.	-do-	3.37	1.84 x 1.21	8290
46.	484	3.37	1.94	8297
47.	477 to 484	3.40	1.10 x 1.36	8298
48.	486	3.55	1.15 x 1.68	8300
49.	-do-	3.34	1.57 x 1.21	8301
50.	-do-	3.36	1.68 x 1.15	8299
51.	499	3.28	1.62 x 1.24	8444
52.	503	3.34	1.38 x 1.33	8316
53.	506	3.36	1.43 x 1.12	8318
54.	-do-	3.20	1.58 x 1.53	8319
55.	507	3.24	1.17 x 1.33	8306
56.	-do-	3.30	1.28	8311
57.	-do-	3.27	1.28 x 1.43	8371
58.	509	3.29	1.43 x 1.28	8302
59.	-do-	3.36	1.12 x 1.28	8303
60.	510 to 515	3.22	1.07 x 1.48	8304
61.	-do-	3.25	1.33 x 1.17	8307
62.	-do-	3.07	1.17	8308
63.	-do-	3.30	1.33 x 1.07	8310
64.	-do-	3.16	1.33 x 1.23	8313
65.	-do-	3.27	1.26 x 1.05	8286
66.	513	3.31	1.48 x 1.07	8309
67.	516	3.24	1.43 x 1.23	8314
68.	?[1]	3.29	1.43 x 1.12	8315

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Sl. No.	Var.	Wt. (gm)	Size (cm.)	Museum no.
69.	?	3.24	1.07 x 1.02	8305
70.	518	3.24	1.23 x 1.64	8317
Series VI (119 coins)				
71.	527	3.33	1.23 x 1.33	8322
72.	536	3.41	1.28 x 1.02	8320
73.	537	3.35	1.02 x 1.12	8321
74.	538	3.27	1.12 x 1.17	8323
75.	542	3.27	1.02 x 1.17	8325
76.	-do-	3.34	1.33	8337
77.	-do-	3.07	1.69 x 1.58	8338
78.	-do-	3.37	1.79 x 1.38	8339
79.	-do-	3.40	1.33 x 1.12	8340
80.	-do-	3.22	1.38 x 1.23	8341
81.	-do-	3.32	1.38 x 1.28	8344
82.	-do-	3.07	1.48 x 0.92	8345
83.	-do-	3.27	1.53 x 1.64	8347
84.	-do-	3.07	1.33	8348
85.	-do-	3.14	1.38 x 1.28	8349
86.	-do-	3.39	1.33 x 1.23	8350
87.	-do-	2.97	1.17 x 1.64	8351
88.	-do-	3.32	1.17 x 1.58	8352
89.	-do-	2.85	1.43 x 1.94	8354
90.	-do-	3.37	1.23 x 1.43	8355
91.	543	3.34	1.58 x 0.97	8332
92.	-do-	3.20	1.07 x 1.28	8324
93.	-do-	3.34	1.02 x 1.12	8327
94.	-do-	3.17	0.97 x 1.23	8328
95.	-do-	3.23	1.02 x 1.28	8329
96.	-do-	3.19	1.12	8330
97.	-do-	3.24	1.17 x 0.97	8331
98.	-do-	3.22	1.07 x 1.02	8333
99.	-do-	3.25	1.28 x 0.92	8334
100.	-do-	3.37	1.23 x 0.97	8335
101.	-do-	3.38	1.23 x 1.02	8336
102.	-do-	2.36	1.43 x 1.28	8342
103.	-do-	3.30	1.57 x 1.21	8289
104.	545	3.35	1.35 x 1.02	8445
105.	550	3.08	1.53 x 0.97	8369
106.	552	3.43	1.33 x 1.17	8373

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Sl. No.	Var.	Wt. (gm)	Size (cm.)	Museum no.
107.	-do-	3.36	1.33 x 1.02	8375
108.	553	3.50	1.33 x 1.28	8372
109.	-do-	3.16	1.38 x 1.28	8374
110.	558	3.22	1.17 x 1.43	8366
111.	-do-	3.33	1.48 x 1.28	8367
112.	566	3.44	1.58 x 1.53	8356
113.	-do-	3.15	0.97 x 1.58	8358
114.	-do-	3.17	1.43 x 1.23	8359
115.	-do-	3.06	1.64	8360
116.	-do-	3.14	1.79 x 1.69	8361
117.	-do-	3.24	0.92 x 1.43	8363
118.	-do-	3.29	1.43 x 1.69	8362
119.	-do-	3.01	1.58 x 1.69	8364
120.	-do-	2.99	1.33	8365
121.	568	3.47	1.23 x 1.12	8399
122.	-do-	3.27	1.69 x 1.07	8401
123.	570	3.06	1.28 x 1.07	8382
124.	-do-	3.38	1.43 x 1.38	8383
125.	-do-	3.15	1.43 x 1.12	8384
126.	-do-	3.31	1.48 x 1.38	8385
127.	-do-	3.20	1.28 x 1.02	8386
128.	-do-	3.17	1.33 x 1.38	8387
129.	-do-	3.04	1.28 x 1.17	8388
130.	-do-	2.89	1.38 x 1.17	8389
131.	-do-	2.86	1.48 x 1.17	8390
132.	-do-	3.32	1.23 x 1.12	8391
133.	-do-	3.39	1.43 x 1.07	8392
134.	-do-	3.07	1.28	8393
135.	-do-	3.11	1.28 x 1.17	8394
136.	-do-	2.65	1.33 x 1.28	8395
137.	-do-	3.17	1.38 x 1.28	8396
138.	-do-	3.27	1.58 x 1.53	8397
139.	-do-	2.88	1.28 x 1.12	8398
140.	-do-	3.08	1.17 x 1.12	8400
141.	571/572	3.24	0.92 X 1.43	8405
142.	572	3.45	1.33 x 1.28	8403
143.	-do-	3.36	1.38 x 1.23	8404
144.	-do-	3.33	1.28 x 1.38	8406
145.	-do-	3.35	1.28 x 1.38	8407

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Sl. No.	Var.	Wt. (gm)	Size (cm.)	Museum no.
146.	-do-	3.37	1.17 x 1.23	8408
147.	-do-	2.92	1.58 x 1.38	8407
148.	573	3.43	1.45 x 1.13	8431
149.	-do-	3.31	1.40 x 1.45	8432
150.	-do-	3.06	1.45 x 1.40	8433
151.	-do-	3.44	1.62 x 1.13	8434
152.	-do-	3.19	1.45 x 1.24	8435
153.	-do-	3.18	1.40	8436
154.	-do-	3.34	1.45 x 1.18	8437
155.	-do-	3.29	1.62 x 1.24	8438
156.	-do-	3.34	1.45 x 1.35	8439
157.	574	3.08	1.58 x 1.38	8411
158.	-do-	3.09	1.58 x 1.23	8410
159.	-do-	3.12	1.64 x 1.17	8412
160.	-do-	2.87	1.64 x 1.63	8413
161.	-do-	3.27	1.48 x 1.23	8414
162.	-do-	3.25	1.53 x 1.33	8415
163.	-do-	3.12	1.53 x 1.28	8416
164.	-do-	3.36	1.53 x 1.48	8417
165.	-do-	2.79	1.53 x 1.48	8418
166.	-do-	2.72	1.48 x 1.38	8419
167.	-do-	3.03	1.28 x 1.33	8420
168.	-do-	2.84	1.28 x 1.33	8421
169.	-do-	3.28	1.48 x 1.38	8422
170.	-do-	3.06	1.84 x 1.07	8423
171.	-do-	2.94	1.64 x 1.43	8424
172.	-do-	3.18	1.28 x 1.43	8425
173.	-do-	2.76	1.94 x 1.18	8426
174.	575	2.90	1.56 x 1.35	8427
175.	-do-	2.99	1.62 x 1.29	8429
176.	-do-	2.38	1.45 x 1.40	8430
177.	-do-	3.26	1.59 x 1.35	8428
178.	576	3.29	1.35 x 1.18	8442
179.	577	3.20	1.51 x 1.35	8441
180.	582	3.26	1.45 x 1.08	8443
181.	?	3.23	1.17 x 1.33	8343
182.	-do-	3.25	0.92 x 1.48	8346
183.	-do-	3.41	1.02 x 1.23	8353
184.	-do-	3.03	1.17 x 1.53	8357

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Sl. No.	Var.	Wt. (gm)	Size (cm.)	Museum no.
185.	-do-	3.18	1.38 x 1.48	8368
186.	-do-	3.11	1.69 x 1.53	8370
187.	-do-	3.19	1.33 x 1.07	8376
188.	-do-	3.15	1.40 x 1.08	8450
189.	-do-	3.18	1.02 x 1.24	8453
Series VII (6 coins)				
190.	589	3.08	1.53 x 1.33	8377
191.	-do-	3.10	1.43 x 1.33	8378
192.	-do-	3.29	1.53 x 1.23	8379
193.	-do-	3.13	1.38 x 1.33	8380
194.	-do-	3.23	1.43 x 1.12	8381
195.	596	3.37	1.45 x 1.24	8440
Unidentified (10 coins)				
196.		3.29	1.17 x 1.12	8312
197.		3.27	0.97 x 1.28	8326
198.		3.09	1.12	8402
199.		3.23	1.40 x 1.29	8446
200.		2.86	1.24 x 0.97	8447
201.		3.21	1.24 x 1.35	8448
202.		2.86	1.35 x 1.08	8449
203.		3.36	1.08 x 1.13	8451
204.		3.24	0.97 x 1.24	8452
205.		3.20	0.97 x 1.29	8454

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Bhalna Hoard

S.No.	Var.No.	Wt. (gms)	Size (cms)	Museum No.
Series III (1 coin)				
1.	305	2.74	2.16 x 1.83	18184
Series IV (7 coins)				
2.	354	2.98	1.667 x 1.78	18186
3.	363	3.18	1.72 x 1.56	18185
4.	418	3.10	1.94 x 1.40	18190
5.	426	3.25	1.78 x 1.51	18191
6.	427	3.02	1.72 x 1.35	18188
7.	-do-	3.33	2	18189
8.	450	3.29	1.83 x 1.72	18187
Series V (12 coins)				
9.	479	3.14	1.72 x 1.56	18193
10.	482	3.29	1.35 x 1.62	18194
11.	-do-	3.11	1.62 x 1.24	18195
12.	-do-	3.30	1.67 x 1.24	18196
13.	506	3.24	1.72 x 1.45	18197
14.	510-515	3.30	1.35 x 1.15	18198
15.	-do-	3.25	1.35 x 1.02	18199
16.	-do-	3.25	1.24	18200
17.	-do-	3.32	1.35 x 1.29	18201
18.	-do-	3.31	1.45 x 1.24	18202
19.	-do-	3.43	1.45 x 1.24	18203
20.	526?	3.14	1.83 x 1.51	18192
Series VI (106 coins)				
21.	528	3.42	1.24 x 1.13	18256
22.	-do-	3.27	1.45 x 1.08	18259
23.	535	3.30	1.29 x 1.13	18260
24.	-do-	3.32	1.36 x 1.10	18261
25.	542	3.26	1.89 x 1.40	18204
26.	-do-	3.43	1.45 x 1.24	18205
27.	-do-	3.28	1.40	18206
28.	-do-	3.25	1.35 x 1.24	18207
29.	-do-	3.47	1.56 x 1.35	18208
30.	-do-	3.53	1.72 x 1.24	18209
31.	-do-	3.18	1.40 x 1.35	18210
32.	-do-	3.21	1.24 x 1.18	18211

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Sl. No.	Var.	Wt. (gm)	Size (cm.)	Museum no.
33.	-do-	3.57	1.40 x 1.35	18212
34.	-do-	3.34	1.51 x 1.18	18213
35.	-do-	3.21	1.72 x 1.67	18214
36.	-do-	3.37	1.45 x 1.18	18215
37.	-do-	3.44	1.51 x 1.29	18216
38.	-do-	3.48	1.35 x 1.24	18217
39.	-do-	3.37	1.51 x 1.35	18218
40.	-do-	3.34	1.62 x 1.13	18219
41.	-do-	3.49	1.35 x 1.24	18221
42.	-do-	3.01	1.62 x 1.67	18222
43.	-do-	3.61	1.56 x 1,35	18223
44.	-do-	3.46	1.51 x 1.24	18224
45.	-do-	2.98	1.56 x 1.24	18225
46.	-do-	3.46	1.67 x 1.1	18226
47.	-do-	3.38	1.35 x 1.40	18227
48.	-do-	3.47	1.24 x 1.18	18228
49.	-do-	3.32	1.51 x 1.35	18229
50.	-do-	3.50	1.45	18232
51.	-do-	3.22	1.45	18235
52.	-do-	3.39	1.29 x 1.18	18236
53.	-do-	3.35	1.35 x 1.24	18237
54.	-do-	3.51	1.35 x 1.08	18238
55.	-do-	3.41	1.35 x 1.40	18239
56.	543	3.28	1.51 x 1.08	18240
57.	-do-	3.22	1.24 x 1.13	18241
58.	-do-	3.25	1.40 x 1.18	18242
59.	-do-	3.40	1.29 x 1.18	18243
60.	-do-	3.18	1.29	18244
61.	-do-	3.27	1.45 x 1.24	18245
62.	-do-	3.23	1.45 x 1.24	18248
63.	-do-	3.17	1.45 x 1.35	18249
64.	-do-	3.36	1.18 x 1.24	18251
65.	-do-	3.38	0.97 x 1.24	18252
66.	-do-	3.35	1.45 x 1.08	18253
67.	-do-	3.28	1.35	18254
68.	548	3.31	1.31 x 1.05	18286
69.	550	3.30	1.42 x 1.21	18269
70.	-do-	3.40	1.42 x 1.26	18283
71.	552	3.34	1.42 x 1.21	18284

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Sl. No.	Var.	Wt. (gm)	Size (cm.)	Museum no.
72.	-do-	3.50	1.31 x 1.15	18285
73.	555	3.23	1.31 x 0.87	18288
74.	564	3.37	1.26	18287
75.	566	2.87	1.73 x 1.21	18266
76.	-do-	3.42	1.47 x 1.36	18262
77.	-do-	3.23	1.42 x 1.10	18263
78.	-do-	3.48	1.52 x 1.59	18264
79.	-do-	3.39	1.57 x 1.68	18270
80.	-do-	3.13	1.84 x 1.42	18271
81.	-do-	3.02	1.36 x 1.26	18272
82.	-do-	3.26	1.42 x 2.10	18273
83.	-do-	3.34	1.63 x 0.94	18274
84.	-do-	3.24	1.31 x 1.15	18275
85.	-do-	3.38	1.31 x 1	18276
86.	-do-	3.42	1.52 x 1.05	18277
87.	-do-	3.07	1.57 x 1.31	18265
88.	-do-	2.87	1.73 x 1.21	18267
89.	-do-	3.24	1.78 x 1.57	18268
90.	-do-	3.21	1.36 x 1.05	18278
91.	-do-	3.32	1.36 x 1.15	18279
92.	-do-	3.40	1.73 x 1.31	18280
93.	-do-	1.51	1.47 x 0.89	18281
94.	568/569	2.79	1.21	18300
95.	570	3.30	1.36 x 1.05	18294
96.	-do-	3.54	1.31 x 1.15	18296
97.	-do-	3.17	1.26 x 1.15	18297
98.	-do-	3.10	1.26 x 1.21	18298
99.	571	3.27	1.36 x 1.31	18289
100.	-do-	3.36	1.31 x 1.21	18290
101.	-do-	3.32	1.36 x 1.15	18293
102.	572	3.32	1.52 x 1.10	18291
103.	-do-	3.36	1.31 x 1.21	18292
104.	573	3.58	1.42 x 1.31	18309
105.	-do-	3.16	1.52 x 1.31	18310
106.	-do-	3.32	1.36 x 1.25	18311
107.	-do-	1.62	1.05	18312
108.	574	3.24	1.26 x 1.47	18301
109.	-do-	3.15	1.89 x 1.47	18302
110.	-do-	3.39	1.63 x 1.52	18303

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Sl. No.	Var.	Wt. (gm)	Size (cm.)	Museum no.
111.	-do-	3.13	1.63 x 1.47	18304
112.	-do-	3.46	1.57 x 1.68	18305
113.	-do-	3.20	1.52 x 1.31	18306
114.	-do-	3.42	1.47 x 1.36	18307
115.	-do-	3.40	1.89 x 1	18308
116.	?	3.30	1.35 x 1.18	18220
117.	-do-	3.36	1.62 x 1.24	18230
118.	-do-	3.38	1.45 x 1.29	18233
119.	-do-	2.83	1.87 x 1.18	18234
120.	-do-	2.98	1.29	18247
121.	-do-	3.20	1.62 x 1.08	18250
122.	-do-	3.27	1.51 x 1.08	18255
123.	-do-	1.80	1.47 x 1.05	18282
124.	-do-	3.40	1.29 x 1.08	18257
125.	-do-	3.41	1.45 x 1.18	18258
126.	-do-	3.20	1.62 x 1.02	18231
Series VII (1 coin)				
127.	595	3.21	1.40 x 1.18	18246
Unidentified (2 coins)				
128.	-do-	3.06	1.26 x 1.31	18295
129.	-do-	3.32	1.21 x 1.10	18299

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3

PUNCHMARKED COIN FORGERIES

Terry Hardaker

A very unusual series of 583 Punchmarked coins has recently been published by Savita Sharma[1]. These coins are housed in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, and were said to have come from Gaya District within the bounds of ancient Magadha[2].

The coins are puzzling from a number of aspects, displaying several characteristics unknown on any other punchmarked series. The number of marks varies from one to eight, and the weights vary from 1.6 to 6.5 grams, with no relation between the two. These factors alone suggest that the coins might be modern forgeries, and a more detailed study has verified this premise. It has also revealed a link between these coins and some examples of the bogus gold punchmarked coins in Lucknow Museum.

The arguments which show these coins to be counterfeit are as follows:

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1. "Silver Punchmarked coins from Magadha — an unknown type" in *Indian Numismatics, History, Art and Culture, Essays in honour of Dr. P. L. Gupta*, I, pp. 29-59, Delhi, 1992.
2. In the present article they will be referred to as the BKB coins.

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1. Variation in Weight and Number of Marks

There is no precedent in numismatics for the issue of silver coinage where weight is random and no precedent amongst punchmarked coinage for random use of punchmarks. The official stampings on a coin always conform to a system. Even the earliest punchmarked coins display some kind of system of marks and adhere to a chosen weight[3]. Normally the states that issued punchmarked coins used only one weight system at a time, although there are a few examples of fractional issues in parallel, such as the tiny "mashaka" coins of the later Mauryan period. Such parallel issues are clearly defined, unlike the random weight pattern of the BKB coins. When a state alters its primary weight system, it is usually to supplant it with a lower one at a specific point in time, introducing some different marks in the process, as for example on the coins of Kosala. Sharma's catalogue of the BKB coins, far from showing marks varying with weight, actually shows that the weight range within each coin type can be enormous. For example coin type 19, which has two marks, has a weight range from 2.7-5.6 grams over 46 coins. There would be no conceivable purpose for a state to issue coins with no system of marks or weights.

2. Combinations of punch marks

Most, if not all, Punchmarked coinages bear the signature mark of the issuing state. Thus we recognise the sun and six armed symbols of Magadha, the three snake-like objects round a dot for Kosala, and so on. These marks are supplemented by other marks, which are introduced for a period of time and then dropped. This fact helps us to work out the chronology of the issues of different states. The BKB coins do not have a common signature mark. They do employ a sun and a part of a six armed symbol but only on a proportion of the coins and then not always together. Thus in this respect they do not conform to the "rules" which scholars have detected in the issue of genuine coins.

3. Use of punches and symbols

On all 583 BKB coins, only eight different symbols are used, and four of these are solar marks. Although the quality of photographic reproduction does not allow

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3. The BKB coins cannot be said to be "earliest" because their symbology belongs to Magadha Imperial Series I, which is not the earliest coinage of Magadha.

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close examination of all the marks on all the coins, it seems fairly certain that only one punch has been used for each symbol. This situation is a well-known touch-stone for the detection of modern Punchmarked forgeries. The forger has not taken the trouble to make more than one punch for each of his designs. In hoards of genuine coins, even those with a "tight" time span containing numerous coins of the same type in near mint condition, a large number of punches is always used. In fact it is extremely difficult to find the same punch used twice. For example, in 1986 the author examined a hoard of 123 near mint state Kalinga coins, all with four marks. All the coins bore an elephant as the signature mark, with the other symbols varying. But no less than 39 different punches had been used for the elephant. It is virtually impossible that the BKB coins, if genuine, could fail to exhibit numerous different punches for the same motifs.

4. Subject matter

The punches used on the BKB coins are close copies, both in style and subject matter, of a particular class of coins from Series I of the *Karshapana* coinage of Magadha[4] (Fig. 1).

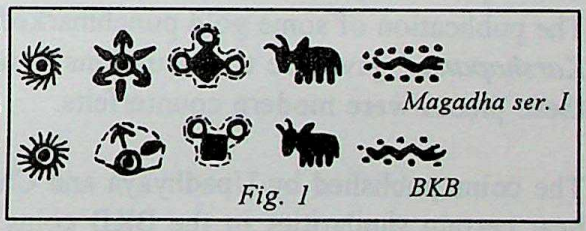

Fig. 1

However, as is frequently the case with all modern forgeries encountered, the punches have not all been cut with sufficient attention to detail. The sun symbol for example on genuine coins has a central dot surrounded by a circle from which emanate oblique rays. Although the forger has cut four different solar-like symbols, none conforms to this. Either there is no circular round the dot, or the rays are not oblique. The coins used as the model for the BKB coins most likely did not have the six-armed symbol fully struck up. The forger has incorrectly made his six-armed symbol with only two arms and the edge of the punch can be seen quite clearly on some of the specimens. Because his experience of punchmarked coins was limited, he could not properly reconstruct the full form of this mark. He has thus created a mark which could never occur on a genuine Magadha coin.

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4. P. L. Gupta and T. R. Hardaker, *Ancient Indian Silver Punchmarked Coins of the Magadha Maurya Karshapana Series*, Indian Institute of Research In Numismatic Studies, Nashik, 1987, Series I type 203.

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A similar mistake has been made in the cutting of the third mark, where the full form was not visible on the genuine coin, and the forger had no way of knowing how to complete it. The bull and the snake however must have been clearly struck on the genuine coin, for these have come out as good imitations.

5. Condition and Banker's Marks

Sharma notes that apart from two coins, all are in fairly good condition. It is very unusual for a hoard to turn up with no admixture of circulated coins and with no added bankers marks on them. Even in the few examples of hoards which seem to have been deposited close in time to their minting, a few have usually acquired added bankers marks. If this hoard were genuine, it must have been deposited straight from the mint, without enjoying any period of circulation.

6. Comparison with the gold punchmarked coins

The publication of some gold punchmarked coins in the style of Magadha Series I *Karshapanas*[5] gave rise to discussions in which the general conclusion was that these pieces were modern counterfeits.

The coins published by Upadhyaya and Chaturvedi, although poorly illustrated, bear certain similarities to the BKB coins. They both have only four "official" marks, *viz.*, sun, part of a six armed symbol, bull left and snake with dots around. These are the same symbols as used on the BKB coins. The added symbols also seem to have at least one in common with the BKB coins, namely a seven-rayed symbol (fig. 2). There is thus at least a suspicion that the punches used in the making of these gold coins may also have been used on the BKB coins.

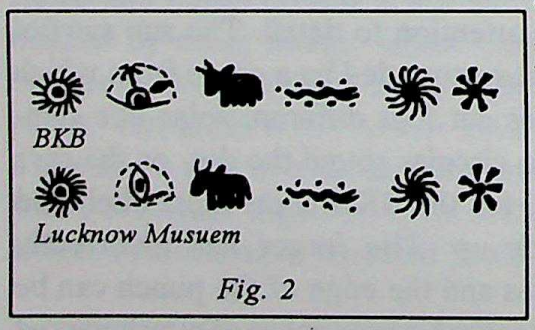

Fig. 2

Recently, Mr. A. K. Jha of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nashik, has allowed me to examine photographs of two more gold punchmarked coins from Lucknow Museum, which may be described as follows.

5. H. C. Bhardwaj and D. Misra, "On the Authenticity of an Alleged Gold Punchmarked Coin", *JNSI*, 1972, pt. 1, pp. 101-05, and U. D. Upadhyaya and S. N. Chaturvedi, "Two Gold Punchmarked Coins", *JNSI*, 1972, pt. 2, pp. 153-56.

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1. Wt 3.35 gm[6].

Obv: Sun with oblique rays emanating from a solid dot, part of a six armed symbol, bull left, square with circles at two apexes, wavy snake with dots around, dot with seven expanding rays, one other partly struck circular mark.

Rev: Blank.

2. Wt. 3.56 gm[7].

Obv: Sun comprising dot and circle with oblique rays, part of a six-armed symbol, bull left, square with circles at two apexes (only one circle struck up), wavy snake with dots around, dot with seven expanding rays, circular mark.

Rev: Blank.

Two observations may be made on these coins:

(1) Apart from the sun mark which appears to be from different punches on each coin, the other marks are very probably from the same set of punches on both coins. This is especially clear in the case of the snake and the partial six-armed symbol.

6. The photograph is in the Photo Archives of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Neg. no. A017/3-20.

7. As above, Neg. no. A017/3-22.

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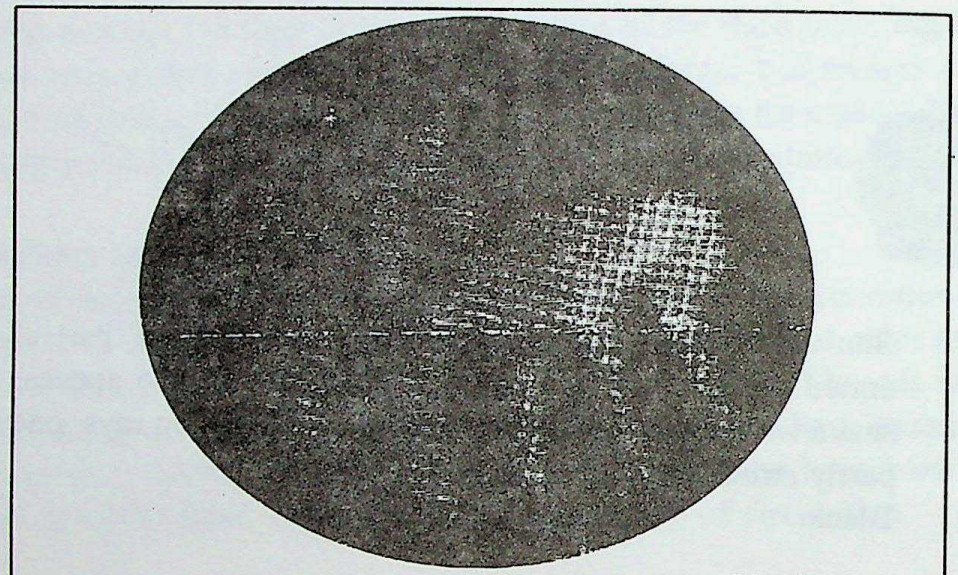
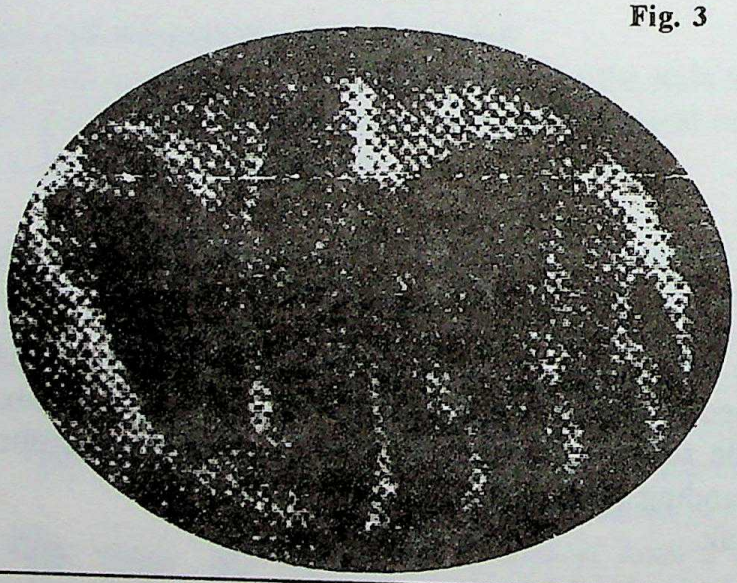


Fig. 3



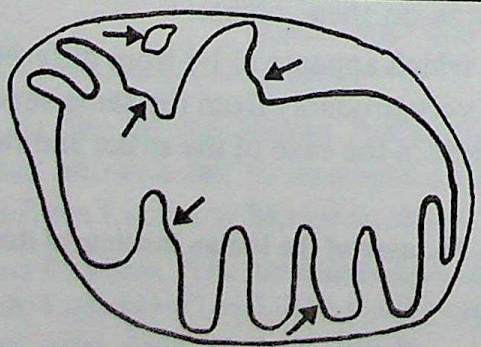


Fig. 4

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(2) The punches used here for the six armed symbol, bull and snake are the same punches that have been used for the BKB coins. This is most clear on the six armed symbol which is in exactly the same incomplete form, with one arrow and one lozenge emanating from the central dot and circle, and with the same outline of the punch showing where the rest of the symbol ought to be.

To demonstrate similarities in the bull mark, enlargements of the photographs of the BKB punch and the Lucknow Museum gold punch are shown side by side in Fig 3. Despite differences due to lighting and tone, identical minute characteristics can be seen (Fig. 4):

(a) The general shape of the outline of the punch and the bull.
(b) A lump at the back of the head.
(c) An irregularity behind the hump.
(d) Blemishes in the field between the horns and the hump.
(e) The third leg bends backwards.
(f) A protrusion at the top of the front leg.

Any one of these factors singly would not amount to proof, but all six together are proof enough that these are the same punches. In the case of the snake, both symbols have precisely the same left facing head, the dots are in precisely the same places, and the body of the snake in each case is composed of short angular lines rather than smooth curves.

It has thus been shown beyond reasonable doubt that the forger who made the gold coins in Lucknow Museum also made the coins published by Savita Sharma, and probably also the gold coins published in the *JNSI*. It may be noted that all these coins came to light in the 1970's, and were unknown before then. It is important that students and collectors should be aware of these counterfeits, because more fake punchmarked material has appeared on the market since then, perhaps by the same hand or perhaps another, and they, like the present coins, have deceived not only beginners, but experts as well. At the same time, genuine new coins, some of them of unusual fabric, weight, or style, have been discovered, which could be misconstrued as forgeries. This only underlines the fact that the study of punchmarked coins requires a meticulous approach, combined with a very thorough knowledge of the series. Such knowledge can come only with prolonged handling of the coins themselves.

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4

RELEVANCE OF NUMISMATIC APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF MATHURA (200 BC-AD 200)

Aruna Sharma

The period of half a millennium that intervened between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas is generally referred to as a "dark age". This seems to be a legacy of the colonialist-imperialist historiography, which tried to project the Gupta rule as the "Golden Age" and the preceding five centuries were sought to be juxtaposed as "dark". A review of literature shows that the history of these centuries was interpreted at macro levels, whereas an attempt has been made in the present paper to reconstruct the history from a micro approach.

It is true that these centuries witnessed an apparent political fragmentation. According to P. L. Gupta, "Most of the Maurya provinces became independent with the advent of the Greeks of Bacteria across the North-Western gates of empire"[1]. In Northern India, Mathura, Kaushambi, Ayodhya, Ahicchatra and others. emerged as independent provinces. However, the rise of these local powers needs to be reflected upon as the moving forces of history, as a micro study of these small *Janapadas* can lead to fruitful results from a macro point of view. The purpose of the present paper is to reconstruct the chronological sequence of the local rulers of Mathura on the basis of numismatic data. A

1. P. L. Gupta, "The Coinage of Local Kings of Northern India and the Date of Kanishka" in A. L. Basham (Ed), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka*, Leiden, 1968 (henceforth Gupta, 1968), p. 114.

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systematic attempt on the study of these coins will be a source for understanding not only the chronological sequence, but also the importance of political and other allied issues related to Mathura "*Janapada*" after the fall of the Mauryas.

The nature, characteristics and sources of numismatic data available from Mathura and its surrounding sites reveal its importance in the ancient period. As described in the Gazetteer[2], Mathura was the north-western district of the erstwhile Agra division and lies between the parallels of 27^0 58' north latitude and 70^0 17' and 78^0 12' east longitude. Geographical and strategic position of Mathura on the ancient trade routes during this period also add to its importance. The precise pattern and network of routes serving its metropolitan ends constituted the hub of the communication system of Mathura *Janapada*, which in its narrowest limits corresponds to the traditional frontiers of the Braja-Mandal or virtually the modern district of Mathura[3]. The trade routes through Mathura (*Uttarapatha*[4], linking Ganga plain with the north and north-west; trade route to *Aparanta*[5], linking Mathura with both Sindhu Sauvitra in the lower Indus region and Saurashtra; trade route to Madhyadesa[6] and Pracya covering Gangetic plains; and trade route to *Dakshinapatha*[7] linking Vidisa and Sanchi) were developed in response to the demands of commerce and conquest as well as ethnic migration and cultural interactions. The geographical setting of Mathura and its well connected communication system through various trade routes is a factor of utmost importance for sustaining the city of Mathura, its continued habitation and its emergence as an important region of India, especially during the period between *c.* 200 BC to AD 200.

The study of the local coins series of Mathura is the result of the few excavations that have been conducted in or near Mathura. These excavations

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2. E. B. Joshi, *U.P. District Gazetteer*, 1969, p. 1-2.
3. R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 222.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 248, 351.
5. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, second edition, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 91-92.
6. Y. D. Sharma, "Exploration of Historical Cities" in *Ancient India*, 9, 1953, pp. 117-150.
7. K. G. Goswami, "Kosam Inscriptions of the Reign of Kanishka", *Epigraphia India*, 24, 1942, pp. 210-212.

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reveal (a) stratigraphic position of uninscribed and inscribed coins of North India; (b) language of the coins in North India; (c) metrology including the data on wear and tear, giving an idea of the period of circulation; (d) typological analysis of the series; and (e) the relationship among the various local powers[8].

The excavations have revealed that the earliest phase of the fortification around Mathura may be dated to the third century BC and, at Mathura, this coincided with the re-emergence of local political authority. This has been, according to Bela Lahiri[9], confirmed by the available series of the local Mathura coins found at different sites such as Hastinapur, Purana Quila, Sankisa, Rupar and Mathura. The excavations undertaken by Venkatrammaya and Ballabh Saran of Archaeological Survey of India at Katra mound have also revealed a cultural sequence chronologically ranging from *circa* 600 BC to AD 600[10].

The excavations at Sonkh in the suburb of Mathura conduced by Herbert Hartel[11] between 1966 and 1974 revealed the cultural sequence of the site, which started from a period when the Painted Grey Ware was in use along with Black and Red Ware and continued upto the 18th century when this area was under the rule of the Jats. Hartel has classified the succession of occupational levels in the mound of Sonkh and established the fact that Mathura history has an uninterrupted continuity beginning from the PGW and NBP phases to the Mauryan-Sunga *Janapada* and Kushana period.

It may, however, be argued that the evidence of only one site is not adequate to finally settle the issue. It will be therefore desirable to search for supporting evidence from other stratigraphic diggings before accepting the chronology of Hartel.

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8. K. M. Shrimali, "The Chronological Inscriptions of the Language and Palaeography of Pancala Coins", *JNSI*, 39, 1977, pp. 65-66.

9. Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India, Circa 200 BC to AD 320*, Calcutta, 1974, p. 160.

10. M. C. Joshi and A. K. Singh, "Puratattava", in *Bulletin of Indian Archaeological Survey*, 10, 1978-79, p. 39.

11. Hartel, "Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh", *German Scholars on India*, Bombay, 1976.

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The local coins of Mathura with names of strikers ending in *Mitra* or *Datta* have been found in several excavations, and one of these is the excavations at Hastinapur. At Hastinapur, in site number one, five copper coins of the Mathura rulers were struck which had usual Lakshmi figure on the obverse. In few cases, the names could be read as *Sesadata*. On others, although names could not be read fully, they are attributable to Mathura type. These were found in Period IV, which is broadly assignable between 2nd century BC and late 3rd century AD. In layer sixteen, they were inter-locked with the coins of the Yaudheyas, coins that are usually given a date in the 1st century AD, while a few occurred in slightly earlier layers, as is evident from the section published in plate XXIII[12]. At Purana Quila, in one of the digs, the coins of Mathura rulers are recorded to have been noticed in period III, *c.* 2nd century BC to 3rd century AD which yield Yaudheya coins of the 1st century AD and Sunga terra-cotta[13]. In another dig, copper coins of Mathura kings, apparently the Mitras and Dattas, are found in the Saka-Kushana period which presented typical *Yaksha* (Kasera) of the Kushana period coins of the Kushanas and the Yaudheyas and bowls and sprinklers of Kushana age[14]. But the reports published are too brief to enable one to locate the actual sequence of the Mathura coins in relation to Yaudheya and Kushana coins. Nevertheless, their stratigraphic position does not militate against the views expressed by Hartel.

The copper coins bearing the names of Brahmamitra, Suryamitra and Dhruvamitra were also found from the ancient mound at Rairh (a small village in former Jaipur State, now forming part of the Swai Jodhpur district of Rajasthan) in 1931[15]. The solitary coin of Brahmamitra found there has been taken to be the same type known from Mathura[16]. Its association with the coins of the other two Mitras may indicate that these rulers were related to Mathura; however, coins of Suryamitra and Dhruvamitra found at Rairh are quite distinct from these. They are known from Mathura[17], and form a series of their own along with two coins of unknown provenance in the British Museum. This series begins with the coins bearing the

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12. *Ancient India*, 10 and 11, p. 101.
13. *Indian Archaeological Review (IAR) 1954-55*, p. 14.
14. *Ibid.*, 1969-70, pp. 4-5.
15. K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rair*, p. 66-68.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 667; pl. XXXVI, 11.
17. P. L. Gupta, *Early Coins of Mathura Region*, p. 129.

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name Udehiki, (the place which may be identified with Uddehika, Avddhika or Anddhika mentioned by Varahamihira and located in Madhyadesa[18]) and have the legend *Udehiki Suryamitra* which means Suryamitra of Udehika. Other coins have the legend *Sudavapa Suryamitasa* and *Sudavapa Dhruvamitasa*. These two coins are very close to each other. Suryamitra and Dhruvamitra were the rulers of the principality called Sudavapa. P. L. Gupta is of the opinion that the coins of this series are undoubtedly the issues of two places, Udehika and Sudavapa. However, these coins seem to be closely connected with Mathura as they share a common symbol which may be the dynastic symbol of Mathura Mitra rulers[19]. It has therefore been postulated that at the very beginning of the disintegration of the Mauryan empire, small principalities had sprung up at different places and issued their coins.

The numismatic data available from these excavations have been of great help in reconstructing the chronological sequence of the local rulers of Mathura, their logical predecessors and successors. An attempt has been made here to reconstruct the history of Mathura during the period under consideration on the basis of published data supplemented by my personal examination of the coins available in the cabinet of the Mathura Museum.

Quite a number of coins, constituting almost all the major series of coinage of ancient India, *viz.*, silver and copper Punch-marked coins, cast copper coins, coins of local rulers and those of Kushana emperors, are available in the cabinet of the Mathura Museum. Although the number of coins of local Mathura rulers is very small as compared to the preceding and succeeding series, the lack of available data should not deter us from reaching our conclusions as we notice a variety of symbols, metrology, palaeography, shape, size and thickness revealing the characteristic features of local Mathura rulers, each helpful in reconstructing the chronological sequence of the rulers during this period.

The coins numbering around 200 were examined for our purpose. On the basis of this classification, it was found that the earliest dynasty of the local rulers were

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18. *Brhat-Samhita*, XIV.3.
19. See n. 17 above.

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the Mitra rulers[20]. The chronological sequence of Mitra rulers has been given in the catalogues, monographs, articles and reports of various excavations which were conducted in and around Mathura.

Cunningham[21] noted Rajañha Balabhuti, Gomitra, Brahmamitra, Rajñha Ramadatta, Purusadatta Rajñah *Janapada*, and Arjunayana. Smith[22] added two more to Cunningham's list, *viz.*, Bhavadatta Uttamadatta and Vishnumitra. Allan records a few more names, *viz.*, Gomitra II, Gosadatta, Drdhmitra, Suryamitra, Kamadatta and Kshatrapa Sivadatta[23]. Besides, we also come across names such as Satamitra, Sesadatta[25], and Satyamitra[26].

The examination of the coins has revealed that Gomitra I was the earliest ruler in the local Hindu dynasty[27]. This has been corroborated from a fragmentary brick inscription of his *Amatya* or minister Kohada at Ganesra[28]. The coins of Gomitra found at Mathura Museum are of two varieties square and round. The square variety may be taken as a continuation of the earlier typology, and this also supports Allan's point of view that these square coins are evidence of for an early date[29]. The square coins of Gomitra found at Sonkh excavation[30] also indicate that Gomitra was the first ruler of the Mitra dynasty. These specimens show that archaeology and palaeography can provide reasonable grounds for the sequence of coins.

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20. The names of these rulers ended with *mitra*, and therefore they were classified as Mitra rulers.
21. A. Cunningham, *Coinage of Ancient India*, London, 1891, p. 85-90.
22. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, I, Oxford, 1906, pp. 190-197.
23. John Allan, *BMCAI*, London, 1936, pp. 169-191.
24. K. D. Bajpai, "A Coin of Satyamitra, A new Ruler of Mathura", *JNSI*, 28, 1966, p. 42.
25. R. R. Tripathi, "Some Rare Copper Coins", *JNSI*, 25, 1963, p. 241.
26. *IAR, 1965-66*, p. 78.
27. Gupta, 1968, p. 114.
28. *Archaeological Survey of India Report, Annual Report*, 1911-12, p. 129.
29. John Allan, *op.cit.*, pp. 169-191.
30. Mathura Museum coin Reg. No. So III, H-245-.32/ca H. 17-75. The coin bearing *Gomitasa Ranaye* has been interpreted by Allan as early issue of Gomitra.

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Gomitra was followed by Suryamitra. The variety of Suryamitra's coins, their typology and provenance confirmed by stratified archaeological evidence along with the inscriptional evidence leave no doubt that Suryamitra succeeded Gomita. About this ruler, Hartel points out that the solidity and comfort of structures as well as the abundance of finds create the impression of a great prosperity; it seems that Suryamitra had not only been the most lasting, but also the most important of the Mitra kings[31]. Suryamitra was followed by Brahmamitra[32], whose coins reveal a similarity of symbols and metrology, establishing the close connection with his predecessor, Suryamitra[33]. The varieties found in different excavations have been discussed earlier, therefore it will suffice it here to reiterate the sequence of the Mitra rulers based on the combined testimony of excavation reports and inscriptional evidence which is quite agreeable to the list provided by the Hartel *i.e.*, Gomitra (100 BC), Brahmamitra (50-20 BC), Vishnumitra (20-10 BC), Drdhmitra (10-1 BC).

The Mitra rulers were succeeded by Datta rulers, as has been conclusively shown by the Sonkh excavations[34]. The homogeneity of Datta coins with those of Mitra show their close affinity. The difference between the two series is in the replacement of the two symbols, and this is discussed later. The study of symbols and their typology reveals that Purusadatta[35], who does not bear any title with his name, was the earliest ruler. He was followed by Ramadatta[36], who has few coins bearing the title *Rajño* and the remaining coins without the title. Ramadatta was followed by Kamadatta[37], Uttamdatta[38] and Bhavadatta[39], all of whom used the title *Rajño* on their coins.

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31. H. Hartel, *op.cit.*, p. 80.
32. The coins of Brahmamitra hoard consisting of 75 pieces provides variety of his coinage.
33. H. Hartel, *op.cit.*, pp. 83-84.
34. John Allan, *op.cit.*, p. 184.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.
36. B. N. Mukherjee, "Satrapal Coin" *JNSI*, 37, 1976, pp. 60-61.
37. John Allan, *op.cit.*, pp. 185-86.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-89.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

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The Dattas were succeeded by the Kshatrapas, whose coins are found in the Mathura region and Sonkh excavations. A hoard mentioned by A. K. Srivastava[40] included coins of Hagamasa, Mitra and Datta rulers of Mathura. The availability of these coins in a single hoard and their coming to light in excavations at Sonkh indicates the presence of Dattas and Kshatrapas in the same level. This leads scholars like Hartel to postulate the overlapping of their rule. But the metrology, symbols and typology conclusively prove the abundance of the Datta coinage which might have continued even during the Kshatrapa rule, thus pointing towards the continuity of the coins in circulation, rather than overlapping of their rule.

The rule of the Kshatrapas may be divided into two parts the first consisting of the reign of Rajuvula and Sodasa, and the second of the period of Hagana and Hagamasha. The termination of the Kshatrapa rule was in the first decade of the second century AD.

The sequence of the Mitra, Datta and Kshatrapa rulers is revealed by the weight pattern and symbols on their coins. The weight pattern of the coins also indicates the continuity of the rulers, as may be observed from graph nos. 1, 2 and 3 which depict the distribution pattern of the coins of these three families. This graphical representation also reflects the slow and gradual declining tendency in the weights of the coins. The reason for this declining trend seems to be related to the life of the coins in circulation; the earlier issues must have lost some weight in course of circulation, while the later kings may have issued coins with weights to match this loss of weight so as to prevent the mint from being forced to accept back the old issues in lieu of the fresh ones.

Besides the weight pattern, a close examination of the coins of these local rulers also reveals some other aspects related to the coins, *viz.*, the nature and characteristics of the symbols engraved on them. A few symbols were observed to be found uniformly on all the coins of local rulers of Mathura.

To take up the issue of depiction of symbols that distinguished these coins from others, it may be pointed out that the most important and frequently formed

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40. A. K. Srivastava, *Coin Hoards of Uttar Pradesh*, Lucknow, 1980, p. 146, hoard no. 815.

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symbol on almost all the coins of Mathura is the figure of the standing female. There are, however, variations marked by the series of symbols on these coins. The symbols found on the obverse and reverse of these coins may be classified as under:

S.1 Standing female figure on the pedestal of fishes;
S.2 Standing female figure on the wavy line;
S.3 Standing female figure on
S.4 Standing female figure on
S.5 As on right of figure;
S.6 As on right of figure;
S.7 is found on either right or left of the figure;
S.8
S.9

S.1. is found in association with S.5 and S.7 on the coins of Gomitra[41], Suryamitra[42], Brahmamitra[43], Dradhmitra[44] and Vishnumitra[45]. The coins of four of these rulers have been found in levels 28-26 of the Sonkh excavations, just above the level yielding copper Punch-marked coins. The chronological order as revealed is Gomitra, Suryamitra, Brahmamitra and Vishnumitra[46]. The coins of Brahmamitra in both copper and silver are of slightly different varieties, as on some of the coins symbol S.7 is replaced by S.8[47]. On the coins of Dradhmitra[48], the female figure is shown standing between S.7 and S.9. From this, it may be postulated that there was a close connection between Brahmamitra and Suryamitra and Dradhmitra and Vishnumitra.

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41. John Allan, *op.cit.*, p. 173; Bidyabinod, *Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, I, Varanasi, 1975 (reprint).
42. John Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
46. H. Hartel, *op.cit.*
47. John Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

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The second group is marked by a change in the symbol which is replaces by 𑀢, which is invariably seen on all the *datta*-ending names of the Mathura rulers. Five rulers have this symbol: Purusadatta[49], Ramadatta[50], Kamadatta[51], Uttamadatta[52] and Bhavadatta[53].

The third group is marked by a further change in the symbols on the coins. These are of Saka-Kshatrapas rulers Rajuvula and his son Sodasa. The standing female figure is same as seen on the coins of Mitra and Datta rulers, and S.7 is also placed on the right of the figure.

On the reverse, there are three major symbols tree in railing, three elephants, and horse. The first symbol is seen on the coins of Gomitra I and Gomitra II, Brahmamitra, Suryamitra, Vishnumitra, Dradhmitra, Sesadatta, Purusadatta, Ramadatta and Kamadatta. Single elephant is used by Uttamadatta and Bhavadatta. The horse symbol is depicted on the reverse of the coins of Saka Satrapas like Shivadatta, Hagana and Hagamasa. The coins of Rajuvula and Sodasa are marked by Pallas, the Greek goddess, and this may have been the result of their relations with the Greek rulers.

In the present reconstruction of the chronological sequence of the local rulers, few names, *viz.*, Sesadatta, Virasena, Satyamitra and Balabhuti, have only been quoted from different sources for the purpose of discussion in this paper due to the nonavailability of sufficient numismatic evidence in the Mathura museum.

The political history of Northern India from *c.* 200 BC to AD 200 was characterized by the emergence of small and local powers. Mathura was one such power, and the reconstruction of its history during this period, with the assistance of numismatic evidence, provides a better understanding of these local powers. Hopefully, such micro level studies will be extended to other such areas and lead to more insightful results in the future.

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49. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
53. *Ibid.*, Introduction, pcxi.

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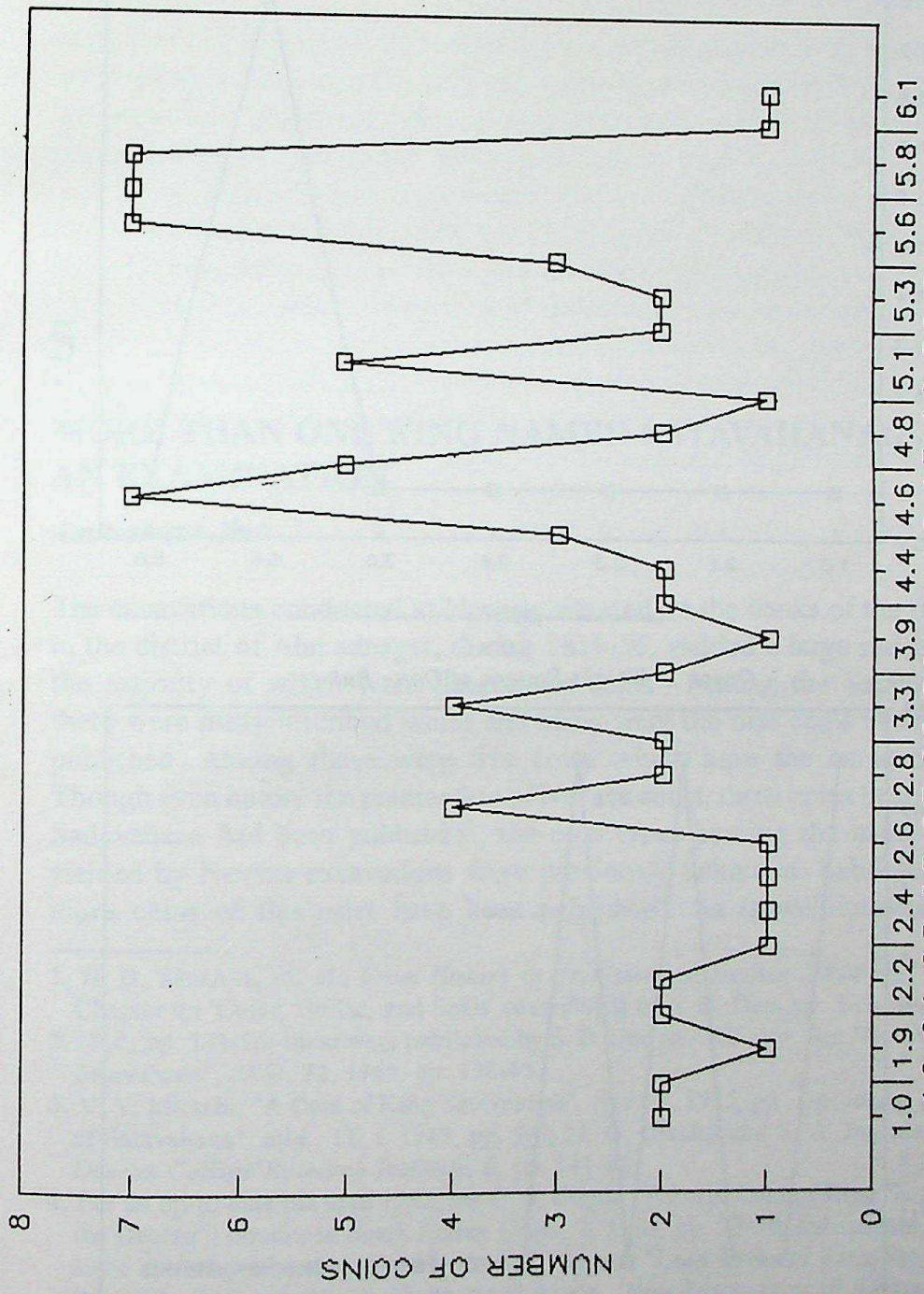

Graph 1. Weight Pattern of Mitra Rulers

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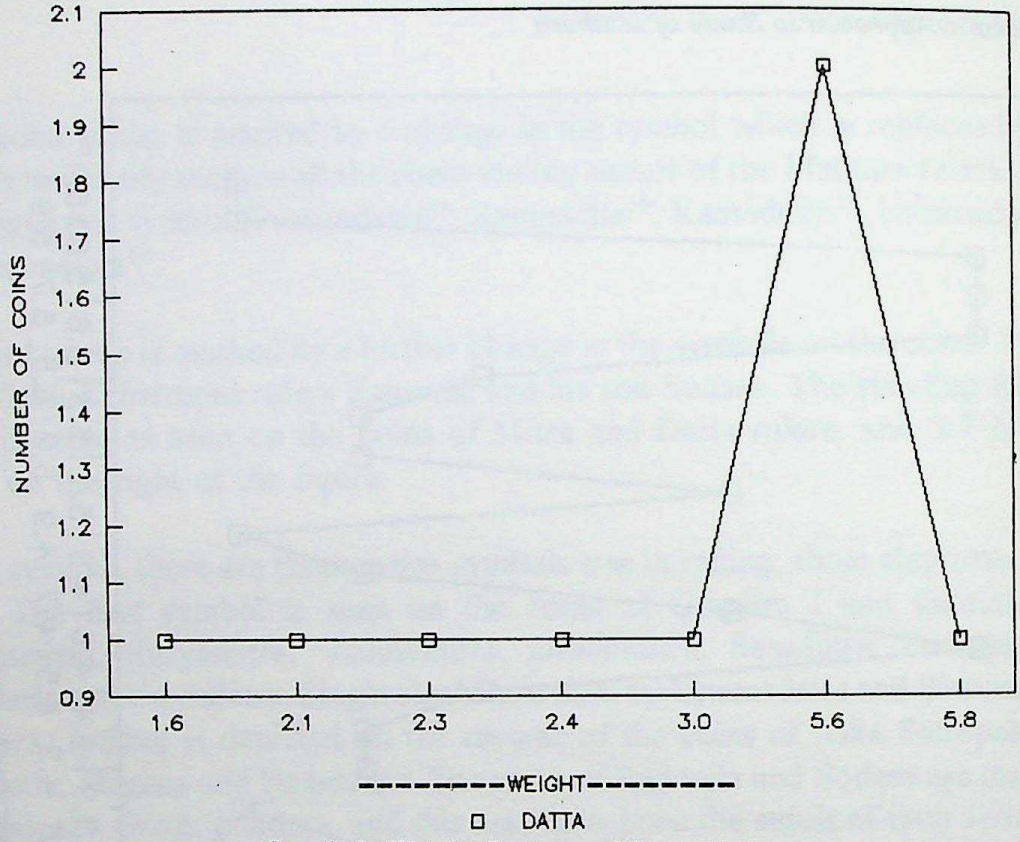
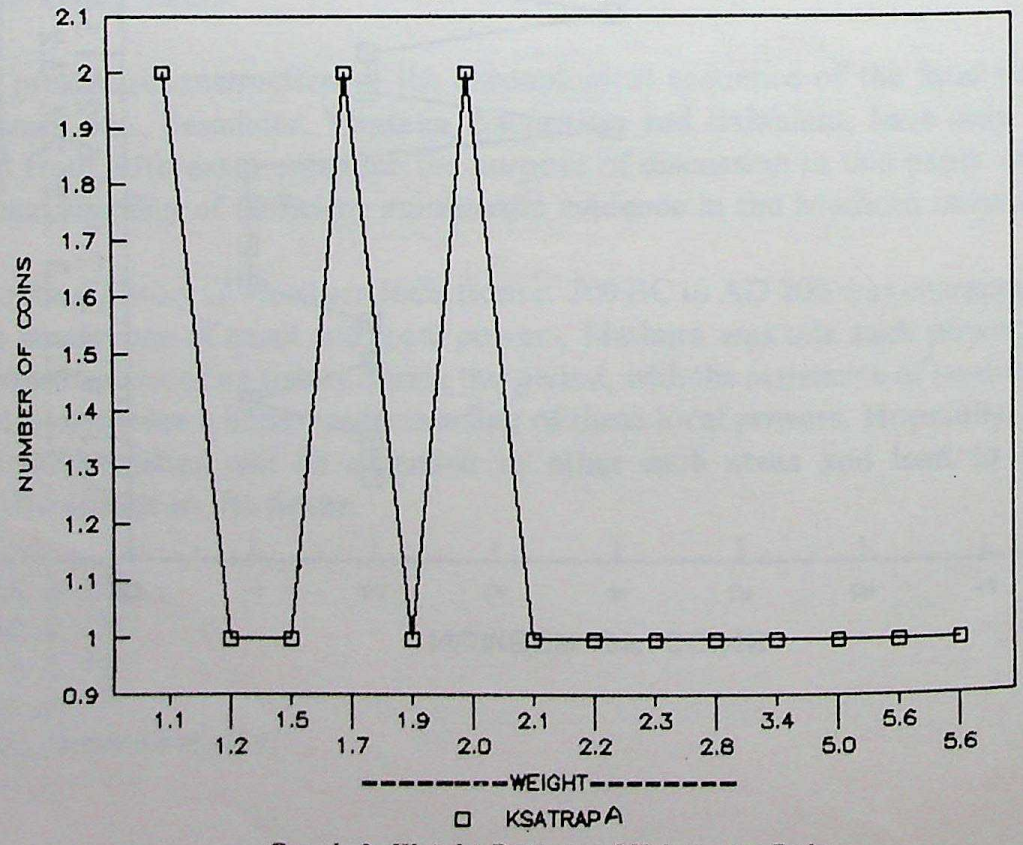


Graph 2. Weight Pattern of Datta Rulers



Graph 3. Weight Pattern of Kshatrapa Rulers

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5

MORE THAN ONE KING NAMED SATAVAHANA: AN EXAMINATION

Amiteshwar Jha

The excavations conducted at Nevasa, situated on the banks of the river Pravara in the district of Ahmadnagar, during 1954-56, yielded a large number of coins, the majority of which were Satavahana coins[1]. Among the Satavahana coins, there were many inscribed issues and many were the first coins of the type to be published. Among these were five coins which bore the name Satavahana[2]. Though even before the publication of Nevasa coins, three coins bearing the name Sadavahana had been published[3], the coin types bearing the name Satavahana yielded by Nevasa excavations were previously unknown. Subsequently, many more coins of this ruler have been published[4]. As is well-known, this name

1. H. D. Sankalia, *et. al.*, *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa (1954-56)*, Poona, 1960. Chapter on 'Coins, Bullae, and Seals' contributed by S. B. Deo, pp. 161-204.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-76; these were published by S. B. Deo in *JNSI* also. See "New Coins of King Satavahana", *JNSI*, 22, 1960, pp. 138-45.
3. V. V. Mirashi, "A Coin of King Satavahana", *ibid.*, 7, 1945, pp. 1-4; *idem.*, "A Lead Coin of Satavahana", *ibid.*, 11, i, 1949, pp. 5-6; M. G. Dikshit and S. A. Joglekar, *Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute*, 6, pp. 141-42.
4. For an up-to-date list upto 1992, see C. S. Gupta, "A Potin Coin of King Satavahana from the Deccan", *Studies in South Indian Coins*, 3, 1993, pp. 77-79. Subsequent to this, some more coins have been published; see I. K. Sarma, "Lead Coins of King Satavahana from Sannati", *ibid.*, pp. 65-72; Shobhana Gokhale, "New Discoveries of Satavahana Coins", *Indian History, Art and Culture: Essays in Honour of Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta*, eds. D. W. MacDowall, *et. al.*, Delhi, 1992, pp.179ff; Amiteshwar Jha, "Bearing of the Numismatic

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Satavahana or Sadavahana is not found in the Puranic list[5] of Satavahana kings and so these coins added a new name to the list of the Satavahana rulers. While some scholars identified the issuer of these coins with the founder of the dynasty[6], others thought that he was the same as Kumara Satavahana mentioned in the Naneghat relievo inscription[7]. There are some scholars like S. B. Deo and P. L. Gupta[8] who felt that the coin evidence from Nevasa suggested the existence of several kings named Satavahana and accordingly they propounded theories which visualized the existence of more than one king named Satavahana. In the present paper, we have attempted to show, without going into the question of the identity of the king Satavahana, that the theory which visualises the existence of more than one king named Satavahana is not based on sound evidence and that there was only one king of that name.

We begin with the examination of the views of those who believe in the existence of more than one king named Satavahana.

Evidence on the Puranic Sequence of Satavahana kings", paper presented at the National Seminar on the 'Age of the Satavahanas' organised by Dept of AIHC & Arch., Nagpur University, from 26-28 February, 1994 (Proceedings edited by Ajay Mitra Shastri shortly to be published). Some coins published by D. R. Reddy & S. N. Reddy in *Numismatic Studies* are not included because we consider them to be modern forgeries.

5. See F. E. Pargiter, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913 p. 36
6. Mirashi (1945), *op. cit.*; also *The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Bombay, 1981, pp. 7-8, 16. Recently, Ajay Mitra Shastri has identified Satavahana, Sadavahana, and Chhimuka Satavahana as one and the same and considers him to be the founder of the Satavahana dynasty (*Studies in South Indian Coins*, 5, 1995, pp. 51-56. Shastri thus differs from Mirashi in the sense that whereas the latter regarded Chhimuka or Simuka as the successor of Satavahana, whom he regarded as the progenitor of the family, Shastri considers Chhimuka to be the same as the Satavahana. We, however, do not agree with Shastri insofar as his identification of Chhimuka, known from coins, with Simuka of the Puranic list or Satavahana, known from coins, is concerned. But we intend to discuss this question in a separate paper.
7. S. L. Katare, "Two Unique Coins of the Satavahana Satakarni I", *JNSI*, 13, i, 1951, pp. 37-39; I. K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Satavahana Empire*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 128-29.
8. S. B. Deo, *op. cit*; also the chapter on coins, etc., in the Nevasa *Report*, pp. 171-76; P. L. Gupta, "Satavahana Coins from Excavations" in *Coinage of the Satavahanas and Coins from Excavations*, ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur, 1972, pp. 132-40.

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S. B. Deo distinguished the coins of king Satavahana from Nevasa excavations into two groups on grounds of palaeography and shape, fabric etc. In the first group he placed a single rectangular copper coins which he dated to 2nd - 3rd century BC, primarily on the basis of palaeographical features. The remaining coins were put by Deo in another group which he assigned to a later but pre- 1st century BC date. And since he visualized a long period for the coins of Satavahana (2nd-3rd century BC to 1st century BC), he thought there might have existed several kings bearing the name Satavahana[9].

Later, Gupta examined the coins from Nevasa excavations and visualized the existence of three kings named Satavahana mainly on the basis of coin typology. He attributed the lead coins with Bull on the obverse to Satavahana I and placed him after Satakarni I of Bull type coins. Then, the coins having elephant with upraised trunk and four circles with crescent above the elephant's back were attributed to Satavahana II. The rectangular copper coin with the name Satavahana was suggested as belonging to a third Satavahana[10].

Recently, in a paper on coins from archaeological excavations in Deccan presented at the Colloquium on South Indian Archaeology (January 19-21, 1990), Gupta[11] has reiterated the existence of more than one king named Satavahana though he has changed their order from the one assigned by him in his earlier paper.

Let us examine Gupta's recent attributions in some detail. Gupta has distinguished these coins into three varieties. For the sake of convenience, we have placed them here in three groups.

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9. *JNSI* (1960), *op. cit.*
10. Gupta, *op. cit.*
11. P. L. Gupta, "Coins from Archaeological Excavations in Deccan", paper presented at the Colloquium on 'South Indian Archaeology' (January 19-21, 1990), organised by the Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad (proceedings unpublished — cyclostyled papers available at the Indian Institute of Research In Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri, Nashik library).

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Group I

Gupta ascribes three coins from Nevasa to the king whom he designates Satavahana I. These coins are of copper and rectangular in shape (No. 2186, NVS I. 3, Fig. 74.3; No. 1799, NVS I. 3, Fig. 81.2; and No. 2888, NVS Y.3, Fig. 81.10). Their type is as follows:

Obv: Bull standing right; above legend, (*Sa*)*tavahanasa*.
Rev: Tree-in-railing having five oval leaves.

Of the above three coins, the legend is read on only one (no. 2186) in the Nevasa *Report* and the other two are not attributed to the King Satavahana there. But, according to Gupta, the name can be read or made out on the other two coins also. Besides, though the reverse of only one coin, out of the above three, has been illustrated in the *Report*, Gupta has restored it with the help of the other varieties.

According to Gupta, these coins are extremely worn and they may be survivals from the earlier layers. Though these coins are considered to be the earliest inscribed coins in this excavation and attributed to Satavahana I, it is conceded by Gupta that this appellation of 'first' to the king Satavahana may need to be revised if some other coins bearing the same name are found elsewhere and examined with the other coins.

Group II

Two circular lead coins from Nevasa (No. 6490, NVS E. 8, Fig. 75.2 and No. 3640, X.3, Fig 76.1) belong to this group and are attributed to Satavahana II. Their type may be as described below:

Obv: Elephant with trunk upraised walking right; in front triangle-headed standard; on its back a groups of four circles, the rightmost having a crescent; legend (*Ra*)*ño siri Satavahanasa*.
Rev: Tree with five oval leaves (in the only reverse illustrated, only two leaves are seen, the rest being rubbed off) in a railing of six compartments; some ancillary symbol in the left and right fields which have been rubbed off.

Gupta distinguishes the issuer of the above two coins from Satavahana of Group I and labels him as Satavahana II. He also places two copper coins (No.

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6863, Fig. 78.2 and 6544 (not illustrated), which are of the same type as described just above, in Group II and attributes them to his Satakarni I. Gupta presumes that probably Satakarni I preceded Satavahana II.

Group III

In this group are placed circular lead coins bearing the name Satakarni (Nos. 6710, 6659, 1810, 1369, 1712, 4695) and Satavahana (No. 1981, NVS I.3, Fig. 75.1; 1175, NVS X.3, Fig 74.1). While the Satakarni of these coins is designated Satakarni II, the 'Satavahana' is labelled as Satavahana III. The coin type bearing the name Satavahana is as below:

Obv: Humped bull walking right; above its back three-arched hill; legend *Raño Siri Satavahanasa*.

Rev: Tree with five leaves in a railing of six complements; a crescent or taurine above one of the leaves on left or right; either *srivatsa* symbol on left or triangle-headed standard on right; below railing, two crabs or fishes in a river.

It is thus clear from the above that the distinction of the three different kings named Satavahana is primarily based on the coin-types. It is also clear that Gupta has now reversed the order of his three Satavahanas from the one he had suggested earlier.

Now, let us see whether the typological and stratigraphical evidence warrant such visualization of three rulers named Satavahana. To begin with, we take up the coins of Group I, ascribed by Gupta to Satavahana I. In this group is placed the coin no. 2186 on which *Satavahanasa* can be clearly read. The same coin was dated by Deo[12] in his paper to 3rd-2nd century BC though in the chapter on 'coins' in the Nevasa *Report* he did not specifically date this coin. The reverse of this coin was not illustrated in the *Report*[13] but it was correctly restored by Gupta as tree-in-railing. Gupta has also placed two other rectangular copper coins, on which he thinks the name Satavahana can be read or made out, in the same group.

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12. *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

13. It is described as completely blurred (p. 171).

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One of these is coin no. 1799 (fig. 81.2). But Gupta has obviously misread the legend on this coin for the available portion of it reads *chhiputasa*. Apparently the coin is of Kochhiputra Satakarni and not of Satavahana. The other coin is no. 2888 (fig. 81.10), only the obverse of which is illustrated. Here only one letter *sa* of the legend can be seen, the rest being off the flan. And on the basis of a single letter, it cannot be definitely ascribed to King Satavahana for, as will be clear from the discussion below, it may very well belong to Satakarni or Kochhiputra Satakarni also.

Thus, we see that out of the three coins only one (no. 2186) is definitely attributable to King Satavahana. Gupta has, however, rightly grouped the three coins in the sense that they belong to the same type. To this Type may be added two more coins from Nevasa excavations; these are No. 6657 (fig. 81.3), which belongs to Kochhiputra Satakarni[14], and 1880 (Fig. 79.2), which may belong to Satakarni or Kochhiputra Satakarni. Recently, we have published two coins of the same type, one of which has the legend *[Ra]ño Satakanisa* and the other bears the name of King Satavahana[15]. These coins, thus, clearly show that the coins of this type were issued by three rulers named Satavahana, Satakarni and Kochhiputra Satakarni, who must have existed in close proximity of each other in terms of time[16].

Here the stratigraphic evidence from Nevasa is also instructive. Coin no. 2186 bearing the name Satavahana was found in the layer I.3 while coin no. 1799, belonging to Kochhiputra Satakarni came from the same layer. Both these coins are thus from the same layer and apparently the issuers of the two coins could not have been much separated in time. The other coin, attributable to Kochhiputra

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14. This coin was correctly attributed by Gupta (1972), *op. cit.*, p. 136. Subsequently, more coins of this ruler of this type were published, see *ND*, 3, ii, Dec. 1979, pp. 29-30; *JNSI*, 48, 1986, pp. 34-35.
15. Amiteshwar Jha, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
16. For a detailed analysis of the typological continuation where the coin types issued by the so-called 'early' rulers like Satavahana, Satakarni, etc. are continued by the so-called 'later' rulers who bear metronymics like Kosikiputra Satakarni, Kochhiputra Satakarni, Gautamiputra Satakarni, etc. implying thereby that the issuers of these coins existed in much more closer proximity of each other in terms of time than is assumed on the basis of the Puranic evidence, see *ibid.*

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Satakarni (6657) comes from layer F.6 belonging to the next period and obviously is a survival in circulation. Simply because two coins of Kochhiputra Satakarni were found in two different layers we cannot visualize the existence of two kings of the same name. Gupta has argued that coins of this group are very worn and may be survivals from the preceding layers[17]. This is an argument which he has used perhaps because he is aware that coins of other groups which he ascribed to Satavahana II and III and Satakarni I and II come from layers which are coeval with the layers in which the above coins were found and hence it would be difficult to explain how coins of three rulers of the same name could be found in the same period. In fact, this is another point that goes against the theory of Gupta. As far as the worn nature of the coins are concerned, it is essential to keep in mind that these coins are copper which could change hands much more frequently than coins of precious metals and hence get worn in much shorter period. So it is not unlikely for a copper coin to get worn in its life time. Besides, there is no evidence to show that these coins were in circulation in an earlier period as no coins of this type were found in the preceding layers.

The above analysis thus shows that Gupta was wrong in attributing two coins to his Satavahana I and that the lone coin definitely attributable to this ruler (no. 2186) cannot be regarded as the earliest inscribed coin at Nevasa because not only the coin of Kochhiputra Satakarni of the same type is found from the same layer, other coins bearing the name Satavahana, Satakarni *etc.* also come from the same layer or layers which are coeval[18]. As regards the grouping of Deo, in which he has put the coin no. 2186 of Satavahana in a separate group and dated it to 2nd and 3rd century BC on palaeographical ground, we do not feel it justified not only in the light of the above analysis but also from the point of view of palaeography. The letter *ta*, we agree, on this coin has a rounded base while on other coins of Satavahana this letter has angular base. But then on the coins of Gautamiputra Satakarni, *ta* with rounded base is also found. As regards the form of *va* and *ha*, we do not find these much different from the forms seen on the other coins of King Satavahana. We find, therefore, no justification in dating coin no. 2186 to an earlier period on palaeographical grounds. In fact, Deo himself has conceded

17. Gupta (1990), *op. cit.*
18. Compare the layers of these coins in the Concordance and Co-relation chart in the Nevasa *Report* , *op. cit.*, p. 65.

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that we cannot rely much on fragmentary legends and incomplete stamping of some letters from the point of view of palaeography[19].

Now coming to the coins of Group II, which Gupta ascribes to his Satavahana II, we find that two coins of this type bearing the name Satavahana were found. Though these coins are described as being of lead in the *Report*, we have a suspicion that these may be of bronze / copper because coins of this very type bearing the name Satavahana are known of bronze / copper from Nevasa[20] and coins of this type issued by the other Satavahana rulers are also of copper / bronze. In any case, the metal does not make much difference to our argument. These two coins have come from layers E.8. and X.3. These layers are coeval with the layer I.3[21], which yielded the coins of Group I, discussed above, which would imply that coins of both group, bearing the name Satavahana were issued in the same period. So, obviously it is only the difference in type that might have led Gupta to consider the issuer of Group II coins as Satavahana II. Gupta has placed this Satavahana II after Satakarni I and to the latter has attributed two coins of the same type[22]. Only one of these coins (no. 6683) is illustrated and on this only *Raño Siri Sa__nasa*[23] is seen and it can be either of Satakarni or Satavahana. But, even if it is of Satakarni, this coin too and the other unillustrated coin came from layers H.8 and F.8 respectively which are again coeval with the layers in which coins of Satavahana of Group II were found. It was only because Gupta distinguished the issuer of Group I and II coins into two rulers of the same name and because he thought that there should at least be a generation's gap between the kings of the same name, he suggested that his Satakarni I might have preceded his Satavahana II.

If we follow the scheme of Gupta, then it would mean that Satakarni, who issued the same type of coins as issued by King Satavahana and put in Group I, which

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19. S. B. Deo (*JNSI*, 1960), *op. cit.*, p. 144.
20. See C. S. Gupta, *op. cit.*, who has published a coin of this type which is of potin. There are other bronze coins of this type available in private collections.
21. Nevasa *Report*, p. 65.
22. Gupta (1990), *op. cit.*
23. This coin (Nevasa *Report* , Fig. 78.2) has been attributed by I. K. Sarma (*op. cit.*, p. 154) to King Satavahana.

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we mentioned above, would have to be designated Satakarni I and as a corollary Gupta's Satakarni I would become Satakarni II and so on. But the question is whether we are justified in presuming the existence of different kings of the same name simply because the coins having this name are of different types and particularly when these coins have been recovered from contemporaneous layers. If we carry the scheme proposed by Gupta to its logical conclusion, there sure would be anarchy in the Satavahana history, for one would be free to presume the existence of several rulers named Satavahana, Satakarni, Kochhiputra Satakarni, Kosikiputra Satakarni, and so on simply on the basis of different types of coins bearing these names.

We, therefore, see no justification in distinguishing the Satavahana of Group II coins from that of Group I coins. In fact, like in the case of Group I coin, we find that Group II type coins also were also issued by several rulers like Kochhiputra Satakarni, Gautamiputra Satakarni and Kosikiputra Satakarni[24] besides King Satavahana and Satakarni. This obviously reflects typological continuation and proximity of the issuers concerned. In fact, we have shown the evidence of several other coin types from other places like Kotalingala, Warangal, Junnar, Prakasha etc. where the same coin type bearing the name of King Satavahana or Sadavahana are also found issued by Satakarni and/or some other rulers like Kosikiputra Satakarni, Kochhiputra Satakarni and Gautamiputra Satakarni[25]. The fact that the same rulers, who, as we have seen above, issued the same type of coins as discussed in Groups I and II, are also known to have issued the type of coins issued by King Satavahana/Sadavahana at other places can mean only one thing — all the coin types bearing the name Satavahana/Sadavahana were the issues of only one ruler of this name. The stratigraphic evidence from Nevasa, as we have seen above, also point towards this conclusion.

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24. One coin of this type recovered from the Nevasa excavations (No. 2287, Fig. 80.1) was wrongly attributed to Gautamiputra Satakarni (Nevasa *Report*, p. 185). The coin actually belongs to Kochhiputra Satakarni; for its correct attribution, see Amiteshwar Jha, "A New Coin type of Kochhiputra Satakarni", *IIRNS Newsline*, Issue 4, October 1994, p. 3. For coins of Gautamiputra Satakarni of this type, see Nevasa *Report*, p. 185; many more such coins from Nevasa exist in private collections. Though no coins of this type of Kosikiputra Satakarni were found in the Nevasa excavations, they are known (P. D. Chumble, *ND*, 15, 1991, pp. 46-47; Mirashi, *JNSI*, 13, ii, 1951, pp. 133-34).

25. Amiteshwar Jha (Feb. 1994), *op. cit.*

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It is only the coin type of Group III, which bear the name of Satakarni and Satavahana whom Gupta designated Satakarni II and Satavahana III respectively, that shows a short life. This type is not known to have been issued by any other ruler.

But coins of this type too are found in the layers which are coeval with the layers in which the coins of other two groups were found. The only exceptions are two coins of Satakarni found in layers F.7 and E.12 respectively[26]. While the former is a succeeding layer, the latter is an earlier layer. The solitary coin from layer E.12 is considered by Gupta to be accidental and a result of rodent mischief[27]. It may well be true for the majority of the coins of this type of Satakarni are from the upper layers. And in fact there is an evidence of the coin of Gautamiputra Satakarni which was said to have been found in the layer Y.5[28] which belongs to the weathered horizon and as such may be the earliest coin at Nevasa. But this might be again accidental and nothing is said about this coin in the co-relation chart of the Nevasa *Report*. In any case, we are not concerned with this here. What we are concerned with is that coins of Group III bearing the name Satavahana are also found in the same layers or coeval layers in which other coins bearing this name were found. And in the light of the earlier discussion these coins too should be taken as belonging to the same king named Satavahana.

It is thus clear from the above discussion that the theory visualizing the existence of more than one king named Satavahana or Sadavahana is absolutely without any basis. Neither the typological nor stratigraphical evidence support it; in fact, these evidence point to just the opposite. Consequently, all, the coins bearing the name Satavahana or Sadavahana should be considered as the issues of a single ruler of that name.

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26. Nevasa *Report*, No 6659 (Fig. 77.1) and No. 6710 (Fig. 76.3).
27. P. L. Gupta (1990), *op. cit.*
28. Nevasa *Report*, No 1951 (Fig. 80.5).

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6

MAHAKHATAPA VASITHIPUTA ISAMAHISA

Ajay Mitra Shastri

King Vasishthiputra Mahakshatrapa Isamahisa has been brought to the notice of historians and numismatists recently through a unique lead coin found at the ancient township of Junnar in the Pune district of Maharashtra[1]. Even though one of his coins was reported earlier from the same site[2], the absence thereon of his personal name made its definite attribution just impossible, except the fact that he was an elevated Kshatrapa as indicated by the reverse legend *Mahakhatapasa*. Circular in shape with a diameter of 2.8 cm, and weighing 11.2 gm, this coin may be described as follows:

Obv: Lion, with its tail curved, standing on a platform in front of what may be called a ploughshare[3] in a railing; under its body, a three-peaked

1. Shobhana Gokhale, "A Unique Coin of Isamahisa", *ND*, 15, pp. 31-40; *Numismatic Studies*, 2, pp. 63-68. The articles in both the journals are almost literally identical.
2. Suresh Vasant, "A New Coin of Vasisthiputra Mahaksatrapa from Junnar", *Madhu: Recent Researches In Indology, Archaeology and Art History (M.N. Deshpande Festschrift)*, ed. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, Delhi, 1981, pp. 293-96, pl. CXIIIa.
3. Gokhale describes it as a sacrificial *yupa* (post) adorned with a banner and so does Suresh Vasant.

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hill[4]. Circular Brahmi legend in first century AD characters[5] beginning about 10 o 'clock reads *Vasithiputasa Isamahisa*[*sa*][6].

Rev: A conventional five branched and leafed tree[7] within a rectangular railing formed by two horizontal bars and four vertical crossbars in the centre; to its left, a strung bow and arrow, and to right, a post[8]. Above, a Brahmi legend between 10 o' clock and 2 o' clock positions, reading *Mahakhapasa*[9].

When only the coins with the legend *Vasithiputa* on the obverse and *Mahakhatapasa* on the reverse were available,[10] their attribution was highly doubtful; it was conjecturally felt that the coins in question were issued to mark the supposed occasion of handing over by the Saka (Kardamaka) Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman I of the Aparanta region to either Vasishthiputra Pulumavi, son and successor

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4. Gokhale refers to it as three-arched *chaitya* symbol between two left legs of the lion. Suresh Vasant is better when he refers to it as three-arched hill in a shallow relief below the lion.
5. Both Suresh Vasant and Gokhale refer the characters of the legends to the second century AD under two different impressions. Gokhale regards the dates of Nahapana known from the inscriptions of his reign as referable to the Saka era of AD 78 which would place his known years (41 to 46) in AD 119-24 . But this is quite baseless as Nahapana has by general consensus been identified with Nambanus or Mambarus of Barygaza (Bharuch) and of all India mentioned by the anonymous writer of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* composed about AD 70. Nahapana's years must therefore be regarded as the years of his long reign which came to an end by about AD 78. There is therefore no question of the characters of this coin being placed in the second century AD.
6. This letter is left out unread by Gokhale even though faint traces of the terminal case-ending are clearly visible on the coin.
7. The tree is mentioned as having seven branches by Suresh Vasant though only five branches can be made out. What he appears to have taken as two bottom branches are really curved terminals of the railing.
8. While Suresh Vasant leaves this device undescribed, Gokhale doubtfully refers to it as another arrow. But looking like a post, it may stand for a spear which occurs on Nahapana's silver as well as lead and other base metal coins.
9. Gokhale leaves the terminal letter out of account but it is quite clear on her as well as Suresh Vasant's coins. Suresh Vasant has read it.
10. Such a coin was, as stated above, published by Suresh Vasant. Another couple of such coins of lead and from the same site have been published recently by P. D. Chumble from his own collection. *Vide* "Rare Satavahana Coins", *ND*, 15, 1991, pp. 48-49. Since by that time Gokhale's coin had already come to be known, he followed her view. See pp. 49-50 of his paper.

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of Gautamiputra Satakarni, or his uterine younger brother and successor, Vasishthiputra Satakarni[11]. But the discovery of the unique coin under reference established finally that the coin was minted by a Mahakshatrapa named Isamahisa who has the metronymic Vasishthiputra in consequence of his mother belonging to the Vasishtha *gotra*. It was not thought as to who might have issued the coin. If it were the concerned Satavahana king, the legends would have gone well as the Satavahana coin-legends are in Prakrit. If it were the Kardamaka Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman I, as one would naturally expect in such an eventuality, the legend would have been incongruous, for the Kardamaka coin-legends are, generally speaking, in Sanskrit with only a slight Prakrit influence.

Be that as it may, the discovery of the present coin is quite significant. It has to be viewed in the context of a few other coins that have been recently found at Junnar and are comparable in respect of devices on them. In this context, reference must be made to coins of kings Satavahana, who in our opinion is identical with the founder of the dynasty, namely Simuka Satavahana[12], and his nephew Satakarni[13] and the Kshaharata Mahakshatrapa Nahapana whose coins have been reported recently[14]. All these coins are of base metals and are closely connected by the

11. *Vide* Suresh Vasant, *op.cit.*, p. 296. What is surprising is that though he was aware of the occurence of the title *Mahakhatapa* in this very Prakrit form on the base metal coins of Nahapana from Bhokardan excavation (*op.cit.*, p. 295; for original coins, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Coins, Bullae and Seals" in *Excavations at Bhokardan*, 1973, ed. S. B. Deo, Nagpur-Aurangabad, 1974, pp. 19-81; "Nahapana Coins from Bhokardan", *ND* 7, pp. 32-40) and of tree and a few other devices on Nahapana's coins, the possibility of the issuer of the coin in question being a member of the Kshaharata family did not strike him.
12. As *Kumara* Satavahana known from a label inscription at Naneghat was definitely dead as a prince only prior to the putting up of his statue in the statue gallery (*pratima-griha*) of the Satavahanas, there is no question whatever of his ascending the throne and issuing coins. Therefore, the only alternative left to us is to identify him with the founder of the dynasty, *viz.* Chhimuka (or Simuka) Satavahana, who issued coins both as Chhimuka Satavahana and simply Satavahana. *Vide* our paper entitled "Satavahana Statue Gallery at Naneghat" presented at the World Archaeological Congress, Third Session, New Delhi, 4-11 December, 1995, which is under publication.
13. There is nothing to support the general notion among historians that Satakarni was the son, not nephew, of Simuka Satavahana which goes against the unanimous Puranic tradition.
14. Shobhana Gokhale, "New Discoveries in the Satavahana Coinage", *Indian Numismatics, History and Culture* (Essays in honour of Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta), eds. D. W. MacDowall, Sanjay Garg and Savita Sharma, Delhi, 1992, pp. 179-86.

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obverse type which is the same in all cases, while the reverse is characteristically distinct in all cases. Obviously Junnar, which was quite an important political centre and served as the capital of the Satavahanas earlier and then as the second capital of Kshaharata king Nahapana after he snatched. From the Satavahanas, was clearly the mint centre from at least the early Satavahana period. For the base metal coins, the obverse design was adopted as the mint-mark which remained unaltered even after the change of rulers and ruling families and emphasises the persistent local character of early Indian coinage[15]. And as the title *Mahakhatapa* appears on the obverse and reverse respectively of the coins of both Nahapana and Isamahisa and the strung bow-and-arrow on the reverses of both, there should be no doubt that Isamahisa belonged to the same Kshaharata dynasty from which Nahapana hailed. Tree in the railing is also common to both on their base metal specie.

In the present state of imperfect information, it is difficult to be sure about the position of Ismahisa in his dynasty. We are quite aware of the fact that the Sakas were admitted to the Indian society and there came to be established close matrimonial relations by about early second century AD. But this coin brings to the fore the fact that already in the first century AD. Such a thing had come to pass. Not only that, the Sakas had also adopted the Indian practice of using metronymics as is clearly borne out by the legend on the obverse of this specimen. Although the use of the metronymics was not confined to royalty as we have numerous cases of ordinary individuals bearing them[16], in the instant case it is almost certain that the use of this metronymic signifies the marriage of Isamahisa's father with a princess of the Satavahana family. If this guess be correct, it may lead us to another important historical deduction, *viz*. Isamahisa was set up by the Satavahanas as a parallel Kshaharata ruler or contender for power to provide a check to the growing power of Nahapana and that he acted to their dictates.

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15. For a discussion, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Junnar: A Mint-Town of the Satavahanas", *Studies in South Indian Coins*, 4, pp. 51-56.
16. One of such cases appertains Ananda, the foreman (*avesanin*) of the third Satavahana king Satakarni, known from his donative record on the southern gateway (*torana*) of the main Stupa at Sanchi. *Vide* V. V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Bombay, 1981 p. 4.

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It is quite likely that he was a step-brother of Nahapana. And this coin thus provides a very good historical evidence of a hitherto missing link of the long-drawn struggle between the Satavahanas and the Kshaharatas[17]. The absence of the regal title *rajan* in its genitive singular case in Prakrit (*raño*) as on other Kshaharata coins may perhaps indicate that the Satavahanas used him only as puppet and did not permit him the use of the regal title.

The coin is, of course, unique in that this happens to be the only Kshaharata coin to have the same legend split into two parts given on the two sides of the coin. What is more is that the style *Mahakhatapa* is accorded great importance by reserving one entire side of the coin for it. It is also not found on any other coin, perhaps, of any other dynasty not to speak of the Kshaharata or Kardamaka Kshatrapas alone. Obviously Isamahisa took great pride in, and was more than satisfied with, the title *Mahakshatrapa*.

We may now examine a few other casual observations of Gokhale. She states that the Junnar inscription of his minister Aryaman styles Nahapana *Mahakshatrapa* because of his extraordinary career including control over Konkana and sea-trade[18]. It must be pointed out, however, that the title *Mahakshatrapa* had nothing to do with any achievement and career but was only an official title which normally devolved on a personage under certain circumstances, including generally the end of the reign of the previous Mahakshatrapa. Another, and much more, misleading observation relates to the names Ayama prime-minister of Nahapana, Dakhamita, his daughter, and Ushavadata Dakhamita's husband and Nahapana's son-in-law. According to Gokhale , these names suggest Prakritisation of foreign names[19]. It is well-known that these do not represent any outlandish names but are indicative of complete Indianisation of these foreigners at a faster than normal pace. The process of Indianisation of these foreigners including adoption of Indian religions and personal names was in full swing in some pre-Christian and post-Christ centuries. It was made possible by the great flexibility and highly tolerant and accommodative spirit of the Indians and the foreign immigrants found no difficulty

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17. The views expressed here differ somewhat from those based on Gokhale's observations in our paper referred to in fn. 15, pp. 54-55.
18. *ND*, 15, p. 38; *Numismatic Studies*, 2, p. 66.
19. *Ibid.*; *ND*, 15, p. 34.

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in getting general acceptance in India. And one of the outcomes of this process of swift Indianisation was the adoption of purely Indian names by these foreigners. And the names in question are a clear pointer in this direction. Not only that, they indicate the process of Indianisation. While Nahapana had a clear foreign name, his daughter was given a purely Indian name, Dakhamita or Dakshamitra. So also Dinika had clearly a foreign name but gave his son a purely Indian name, *viz.* Rishabhadatta which is met with in its Prakrit forms, *viz.*, Ushavadata and Usabhadata in his inscriptions at Nasik and Karle. Thus, the process of Indianisation was complete in the second generation at the latest. So also the name Ayama is actually a Prakrit form of Sanskrit Aryaman or Aryama. Thus, there is nothing outlandish in these names.

Then, the name Isamahisa[20] reminds her of the titles of the Kushana king Vima Kadphises, namely *Isvara* and *Mahisvara*[21], used for him on his fairly numerous coins[22]. However, there cannot be the question of even the remotest comparison as in the instant case it is a proper name of the issuer of the coin in Question whereas in the case of the concerned Kushana monarch these are two different titles as admitted on all hands and refer to the issuer as 'the lord, a devote of god Mahesvara[23].

Finally, we are confronted by the question as to the correct Sanskrit form and the real meaning and significance of the name. There is no doubt that the name Isamahisa is the Prakrit form of a Sanskrit word, the tracing whereof should throw welcome light on the religious persuasion of the giver of the name, if not that of the bearer himself. To us, it is the Prakrit transformation of Sanskrit Isamahisha, "buffalo of the god Isa". The name Isa generally denoted god Siva, and buffalo is closely connected with Saiva mythology through his spouse Durga Mahishamardini. Thus, the name clearly symbolises the Saivite affiliation of the Kshaharata issuer of the coin or his father. This should not be surprising as the Kshaharatas are

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20. She writes the name in this context as *Isa Mahisa*, evidently to create some semblance between the suggested parallels.

21. She gives as titles *Isvarasa* and *Mahisvarasa*, forgetting, at least for a moment, that these are actually genitive singular forms of these titles.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 34; *Numismatic Studies*, 2, p. 65.

23. The correct Sanskrit rendering would be *Isvarasya Mahesvarasya*.

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known to have come under the spell of Pauranic Hinduism and followed several *Smarta* practices. This would thus be one of the earliest allusions to this aspect of Saivite mythology in the Deccan.

It would thus be seen from the foregoing discussion that the coins of Isamahisa are of great historical and cultural significance if viewed in a critical perspective. To sum up,

I. Isamahisa (Skt. Isamahisha) was a Kshaharata chief set up by the Satavahanas as a puppet against their sworn enemy, Nahapana.

II. He was a completely Indianised Saka; born of a lady of the Vasishtha *gotra* and bearing a purely Indian name with a great Saivite mythological significance.

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7

A COIN OF SIVA SATAKARNI

P.D. Chumble

Recently I obtained a coin of lion (or lioness) type, the find spot of which is not certain[1]. The appearance of the coin is, however, similar to the lion type coins known from Junnar[2]. The lion type coins from Junnar are attributable[3] to

1. I obtained this coin from a person who hails from Nevasa side. He said that it was obtained at Aurangabad and may have come from Bhokhardan.
2. Typologically the reverse tree-in-railing and Ujjain symbol of the present coin is comparable with many other coin types of Satavahanas. The fact is that the find spot of this coin can also be Bhokhardan (dist Aurangabad), Nevasa (Dist. Ahmadnagar) or Junnar (dist. Pune), all being equally important for Satavahana period. At Bhokhardan, a similar type of tree-in-railing is noticed with Ujjain symbol on the other side. (Bhokhardan, p. 52, pl. XXIII. 51). Here the coins of Nahapana are also found which in appearance and fabric are similar to the otherwise well known type of Satavahanas with elephant on obverse and tree-in railing on reverse. The tree-in railing on some such specimen is similar to the tree on the present coin (*c.f.*, Bhokhardan pl. XIX, 30 of Satavahana type and pl. XXX, 65 of Nahapana type). From Nevasa also many Satavahana coins, particularly of the above mentioned type with comparable tree device on reverse, are known. But except for the similarity of the tree, none of these issues are comparable with the present coin and the overall appearance of the type brings it nearer to the lion type coins known from Junnar.
3. References to the publicatons on lion type coins from Junnar: Suresh Vasant, "A new coin type of Vasisthiputra Maha Kshatrapa from Junnar" in *Madhu: Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History* (Shri M.N. Deshpande commomeration volume), ed. M.S. Nagarjrao., pp. 293-296; Sobhana Gokhale, "Two Lion type coins of King Satavahana", *JNSI*, 42, i, 1980 pp. 6-10, pl. I, 1 and 2; Dilip Rajgor, "Recent Researches in Kshatrapa Numismatics", *Numismatic Studies,* 1, 1991, p. 39, P.D. Chumble "Rare Satavahana Coins", *ND*, 15, pp. 48-50.

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(1) Satavahana (2) Satakarni (3) Nahapana and (4) Isamahisa. The obverse device on all these are more or less having the same features while the reverse varies. The obverse on the present coin is also similar with few variations, but the reverse is different. It is described below:

Lead; wt. 8.08 gm; size 2.16 x 1.93 cm.

Obv: Lion to left; legend in front *Sa va Sa ta ka na.*
Rev: Tree in railing; Ujjain symbol with crescent.

Here, on obverse, the lion is not facing any standard and the three arched hill under the lion is not visible. The space for standard is taken up by the legend. The space under the lion is blank with few illegible traces. It is to be noted that the standard in front of the lion and three arched hill under it are invariably present, unless it is off the flan, on all specimens known from Junnar.

The reverse design on the Junnar lion type coins published earlier are divisible into three main groups. The coins of Satavahana and Satakarni are having Ujjain symbol with *Nandipada* in the intersections. The coins of Nahapana are with thunder bolt and arrow/bow and arrow. On the coins of Isa Mahisa there is a tree-in-railing in the centre, bow and arrow on left, and a standard (only a straight thick line) on right and reverse device on the present coin is having a combination of the coins of Satavahana and Isa Mahisa. The tree-in-railing here is similar in style to that noted on the coins of Isa Mahisa. On the right of the tree-in-railing is the Ujjain symbol with a crescent which, of course, is boldly represented on the coins of Satavahana and Satakarni. This kind of relationship as shown on the reverse suggests that the coins of Isa Mahisa and Siva Satakarni can be placed in closer proximity, and that the coin of Siva Satakarni is not reflecting a direct

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continuation of the type of Satavahana or Satakarni. It is quite possible that the issues of Mahakshatrapa Nahapana intervened after the Satavahana and Satakarni issues of this type. Following Nahapana, with or without any gap, the issues of Isa Mahisa seem to have followed the type. Here, it is interesting to note that the coins of Isa Mahisa are having the title of Mahakshatrapa which shows the Western Kshatrapa tradition and the typical matronymic "Vasisthiputra", well known in the line of Satavahana rulers but not in the Western Kshatrapa line[4]. It is difficult here to suggest anything further, except that the coins of Isa Mahisa need to be placed after Nahapana and before the coin of Siva Satakarni on typological grounds.

It should be taken as nearly certain that Siva Satakarni, though placed after Isa Mahisa, belongs to Satavahana family. But who is this Satakarni in the list of various Satakarnis mentioned in the Puranas is not certain. The name as it appears on the coin *i.e.*, Siva Satakarni, is not mentioned in the Puranas and is also not known through inscriptions Rapson earlier published two coins of Siva Siri Satakarni found in Krishna Godavari region of Andhra Pradesh[5]. But the legend on these two coins are incomplete and are deciphered by Rapson as *[va sa] thi pu ta sa Siva Siri* on one coin and *ta sa Siva Siri* on another coin[6]. It is obvious by the available legend that there is no clear evidence for Rapson to attribute these two coins to Siva Siri Satakarni. He identifies him with Siva Siri mentioned in the Puranas and speculates that the Amaravati inscription of Siri Siva maka sada may perhaps be the same as king Siva siri Satakarni"[7]. But now we know that king Sivamaka Sada belongs to the Sada family whose coins have come to light in good number from Vaddamanu excavations[8]. The type and fabric of these

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4. Isa Mahisa is suggested to be a successor of Nahapana in this area and it is thought that even after the defeat of Nahapana at the hands of Gautamiputra Satakarni, his successor retained power in some localities. But in the light of Nasik cave inscription of Vasisthiputra Pulumavi of regnal year 19, where he is called the lord of Dakshinapatha, it seems unlikely that this region was beyond the control of Satavahanas immediately after the fall of Nahapana,. Therefore there is possibility of a gap between Nahapana and Isa Mahisa.
5. E. J. Rapson, *BMC Andhra, Western Kshatrapa etc.*, London, 1908, p. 29.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.* p. XI.

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two coins attributed to Siva Siri Satakarni are quite similar to the same type of coins of Siva Siri Pulumavi known from Amaravati region. In fact, Sarma has attributed there two coins to Siva Siri Pulumavi[9]. No other coin of Siva Siri Satakarni is published so far. Mirashi has also published the same coins as published and attributed by Rapson[10].

'Siva" is prefixed on the present coin with Satakarni. In the Puranic list of Satavahana rulers, following names prefixed with 'Siva' are noted — Siva Svati, Siva Sri, Siva Skanda and Siva Sri Puloma[11]. The coins of Siva Siri Pulomavi and Siva Khada (Skanda) Satakarni are known earlier. The coins of 'Siva Siri' and 'Siva Svati' are not known so far. Mirashi suggests that Satavahanas optionally prefixed Siva Sri to their names and he considers Siri Pulomavi and Siva Siri Pulomavi of the coins as one and the same king[12]. If we consider this to be correct, than the present coin may possibly be attributed to a king named Satakarni. But many other scholars disagree with the views of Mirashi, and Siva Siri Pulomavi and Pulomavi are taken to be two different kings. This latter view sounds more convincing to me. It is quite possible that this coin may be attributed to Siva Svati or Siva Sri mentioned in the Puranas. They are listed at 22 and 25 numbers respectively. Here it may be pointed out that the Prakrit form of Siva Svati becomes Siva Sata while on the coin it is Siva Satakarni. If such a change in the form of the name is possible and logical, only then the present coin may be attributed to Siva Svati. The other name "Siva Sri" is similarly not suggesting anything about Satakarni as noticed on the coin. However, Siva Sri is also noticed suffixed with the name Satakarni *i.e.*, Satakarni Siva Sri[13]; and it is not unlikely that the Satakarni Siva Sri of the Puranas is Siva Satakani on the coin.

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8. T. V. G. Sastri *et al*, *Vaddamanu Excavations*, Hyderabad, 1992, pp. 164.
9. I. K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Satavahana Empire*, Delhi, pp. 244-245. The numbers C14 and C15 are possibly the same coins as published by Rapson.
10. V. V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Bombay, 1981, p. 271, No. 10A. Here Rapson or Elliot is not quoted, but the coin described seems to be the same as given by Rapson, *op.cit*, p. 29, No. 115. Mirashi, however, has given here the complete legend which simply is a possible restoration.
11. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, p. 71.
12. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p. 37.
13. Rapson, *op.cit.*, p. LXVII.

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8

THE CIRCULATION OF SATAVAHANA COINS IN TAMILNADU

Michael Mitchiner

During the Sangam period, until around AD 250[1], much of Tamilnadu was the domain of three powerful kingdoms. These were the kingdoms of the Cheras, the Pandyas and the Cholas.

The kingdom of the Cheras arose in southern Kerala. The Irumporai branch of the Cheras then extended their control through the Palghat Pass and over the Kongu plain. They subsequently established their capital at Karur (10° 58 N, 78°03 E). This was recorded both in Sangam period literature[2] and also by the western geographer Ptolemy[3]. The inland location of the Chera capital was also noted in the *Periplus*[4].

The Pandya kingdom was centred on their capital at Madurai (9° 55 N, 78° 07 E) on the River Vaigai and on their principal port at Korkai (8° 40 N, 78° 05 E) on

1. The Sangam period, as described in classical Tamil literature, ended shortly before the Ratta conquest of the Kongu plain expelled the Cheras from that region. The Rattas occupied Kongu in *circa* AD 250. For discussion, see M.B. Mitchiner, *Coin Circulation in Southernmost India*, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik, 1995.
2. King Peruncheral Irumporai gave himself the title *Karuvureriya olval Kopperunceral Irumporai*.
3. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, London, 1885, ed. R. Jain, New Delhi, 1985. See Book VII, chap. 1, sections 8 and 85-86.
4. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, ed. W. H. Schoff, New York, 1912, 2nd edn., New Delhi, 1974. See chap. 55.

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the River Tambraparni. These details were noted in the *Periplus*[5] and by Ptolemy[6]. The Chola kingdom embraced the delta of the River Cauvery; with a capital at Uraiyur (now a suburb of Trichy: 10^0 50 N, 78^0 43 E) and a principal port at Kaveripattinam (Pompuhar: 11^0 04 N, 79^0 50 E)[7].

To the north of the Cholas, the Tamilnadu plain (South Arcot district) was the domain of the Malayaman. The Malayaman were recorded in Sangam period literature[8], where their land was referred to as Malayaman-nadu. They were not named either by Ptolemy or by the author of the *Periplus*.

The Malayaman chiefs were less important than their Chola and Chera neighbours to the south. They appear to have been sometimes feudatory to either the Cholas or the Cheras. The Malayaman capital was at Tirucoilur (11^0 59 N, 79^0 13 E) on the River Ponnaiyar, the site from which the majority of their coins have been recovered[9]. Their port was probably Arikamedu[10], the ancient site of Podouke[11] (Ptolemy; *Periplus*), just south of modern Pondicherry.

The northern neighbour of the Malayaman were the Satavahanas. The suzerainty of the Satavahanas over northern Tamilnadu (North Arcot district) appears to be sufficiently attested by the Kanchipuram (12^0 50 N, 79^0 44 E) excavations[12]. The numismatic record of the first and second centuries AD at Kanchipuram consists

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5. *Periplus*, chap. 59.
6. Ptolemy, Book VII, chap. 1, sections 10-11 and 88-89, also 96.
7. *Periplus*, chap. 59.; Ptolemy, Book VII, chap. 1, sections 13 and 91. For discussion of references by Ptolemy and in the *Periplus* see Mitchiner, *op.cit*. Excavations at Uraiyur and at Kaveripattinam have been summarised in *Indian Archaeology*, 1964-65 and 1968 (Uraiyur); 1961-62 (Kaveripattinam); also 1963-64, 1964-65, 1970-71, 1972-73 (Kaveripattinam).
8. R. Krishnamurthy, "Sangam period 'Malayaman' coins", *JNSI*, 1987, pp. 41-43; R. Krishnamurthy, *Sangakala Malayaman Nanayankal*, Madras, 1990.
9. Krishnamurthy, *op. cit.*; Mitchiner, *op.cit.*
10. For excavations at Arikamedu see M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh and K. Deva, "Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman trading-station on the east coast of India", *Ancient India*, Bullettin of ASI, 2, 1946, pp. 17-124.
11. Ptolemy, Book VII, chap. 1, section 14 (Podouke); *Periplus*, chap. 60 (Poduca).
12. *Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63; see also 1970-71, 1971-72, 1972-73: K.V. Raman and P. Shanmugan, "Terra-cotta coin moulds from Kanchipuram", *Studies in South Indian Coins*, 1, 1991, pp. 23-29.

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of silver Punchmarked coins and base metal Satavahana coins, plus terra-cotta moulds for casting imitations of both these classes of coins. The latest Satavahana coins recovered were those of Rudra Satakarni.

When the Satavahanas weakened during the early part of the third century AD, both northern Tamilnadu and the adjacent part Andhra of Pradesh became independent. The Ikshavaku kingdom (AD 227-306)[13] was established in Andhra Pradesh. In northern Tamilnadu the Pallavas established their seat at Kanchipuram[14]. The Pallava realm appears to have been fairly small at the time of its inception and there is numismatic evidence that other local chiefs strove for independence in North Arcot district (Andipatti hoard)[15], as well as at Tiruvannamalai[16]. Within a fairly short period of time, probably still within the third century AD, the other minor chiefs were suppressed by the Pallavas, who extended their control across the rest of northern Tamilnadu.

The circulation of Satavahana coins in northern Tamilnadu has already been noted in respect of Kanchipuram.

Satavahana coins also circulated southwards, beyond the Satavahana frontier, in the course of trade. Numerous Satavahana coins have been recovered[17] from the bed of the River Ponnaiyar at Tirucoilur, the Malayaman capital, and from the bed of the River Amaravati at Karur, the Irumporai Chera capital. No Satavahana coins were observed by the author at more southerly locations. In particular, the large numbers of coins recovered from the bed of the River Vaigai at Madurai, the Pandya capital, did not include any Satavahana coins in the samples inspected.

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13. R. Subrahmanyam, *Catalogue of Ikhshvaku coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, A.P. Govt. Museum mgr. no. 5, Hyderabad, 1962.
14. Early Pallava lead coins (obv. Bull right; rev. plain) were recovered in the Kanchipuram excavations from strata overlying the levels that yielded Satavahana coins.
15. Discussed by I. K. Sarma, *South Indian Coinage*, Tamilnadu Numismatic Society, Madras, 1992; R. Nagaswamy, *Tamil coins - A study*, Madras, 1981.
16. Mitchiner, *op.cit.*
17. See below.

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It would appear that traders from the north (Deccan) travelled southwards in substantial numbers as far as Karur and lost some of their small change along the way.

The following observations were made by the author when visiting these sites in 1993.

1. Tirucoilur

Eight Satavahana coins were recently recovered from the bed of the River Ponnaiyar. All belonged to common issues of the "Elephant / Ujjain symbol" type. Most coins were made of potin (copper alloyed with a substantial amount of tin) and the other few were made of lead. The coins catalogued below are representative.

Ancient coins of other classes included Malayaman (x 10), Chera (x1) and Pallava (x 13).

2. Karur

Some fifty Satavahana coins were observed. All were of the same class as those observed at Tirucoilur. The name *Satakarni*[18] was legible on a significant number of coins.

Ancient coins of other classes included Chera (x several hundred), Pandya (x c8), Chola (x c 6), Malayaman (x 8), Pallava (x 10), as well as numerous Roman coins.

Representative coins from these two sites are of Vasisthiputra Sri Pulumavi (*circa* AD 131-159[19]) and Gautamiputra Sri Yajña Satakarni (*circa* AD 172-201).

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18. Type of M.B. Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and their Values*, 2, *The Ancient and Classical World*, London, 1978, nos. 4941-52.
19. Dates as per Mitchiner (1978) *op.cit.* The dates of Satavahana kings remain subject to debate.

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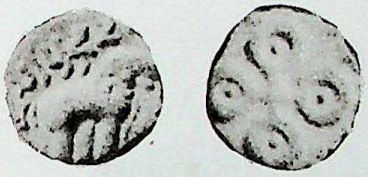
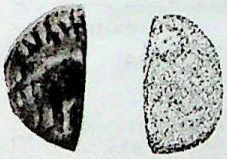
Vasisthiputra Sri Pulumavi: circa AD 131-159

1. Lead, 19 mm, 2.88 gm, ex Tirucoilur[20].



Obv: Elephant standing right; legend - *SiRi PuLuMa(visa)*.
Rev: 'Ujjain' symbol.

2. Potin, 16 mm, 0.79 gm., ex Tirucoilur.



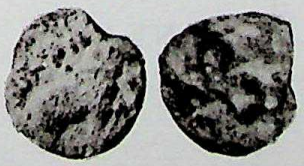
Similar, but broken. Legend - *SiRi Pu(lumavisa)*.

3. Potin, 18 mm, 2.25 gm, ex Tirucoilur.

Similar. Legend *(Siri Pu)LuMaVisa*.

Gautamiputra Sri Yajña Satakarni: circa AD 172-201

4. Potin, 16 mm, 2.08 gm, ex Karur[21].



Obv: Elephant standing right, legend (*Siri*) *YaJna SaTa*.
Rev: 'Ujjain' symbol.

20. Type of Mitchiner (1978) *op.cit.*, nos. 4963-65.
21. *Ibid.*, no. 4967.

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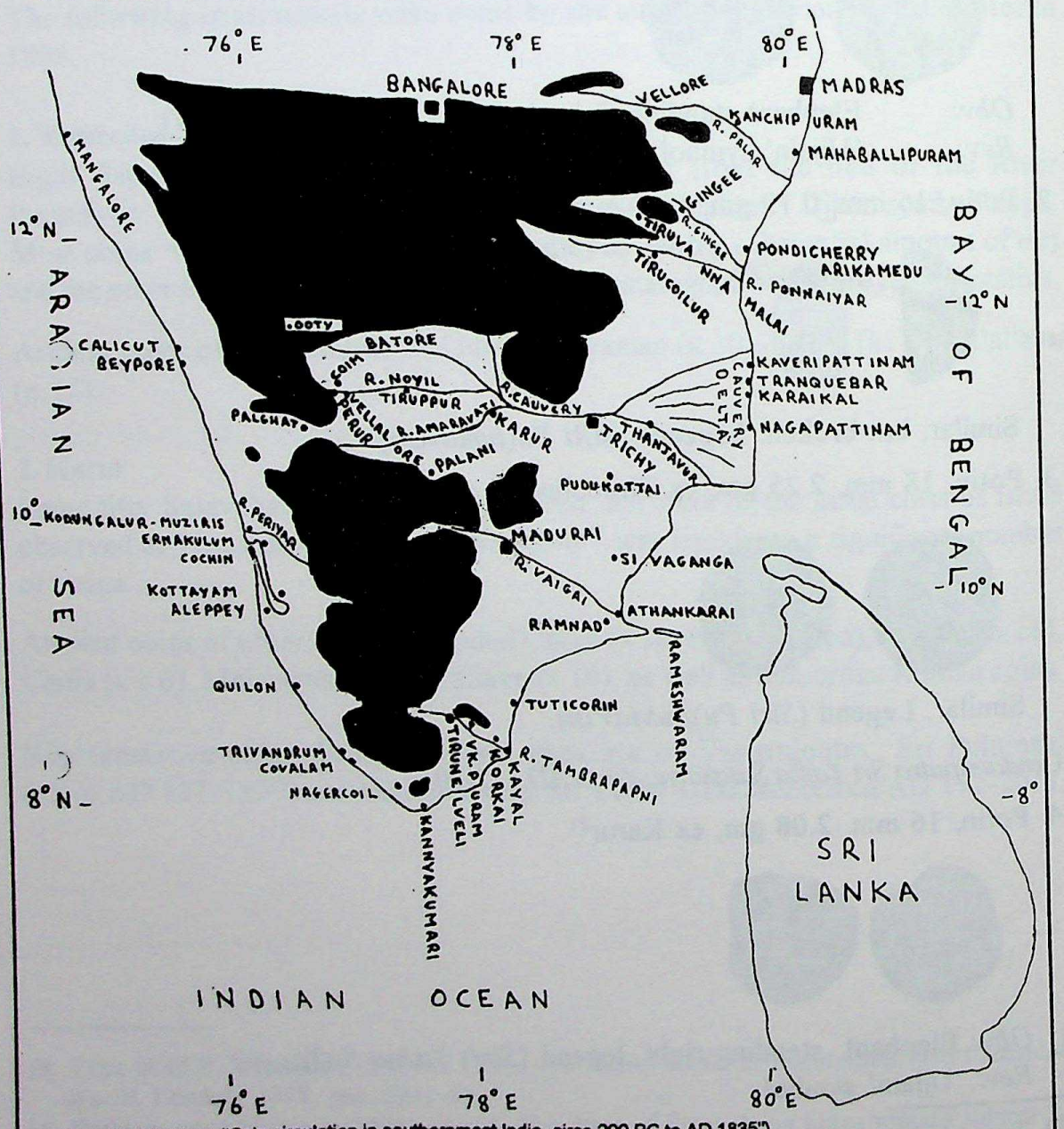
Map 2. Tamilnadu and Kerala
Indicating elevated land (shaded), the principal rivers and sites discussed in the text.



(from M. Mitchiner, "Coin circulation in southernmost India, circa 200 BC to AD 1835")

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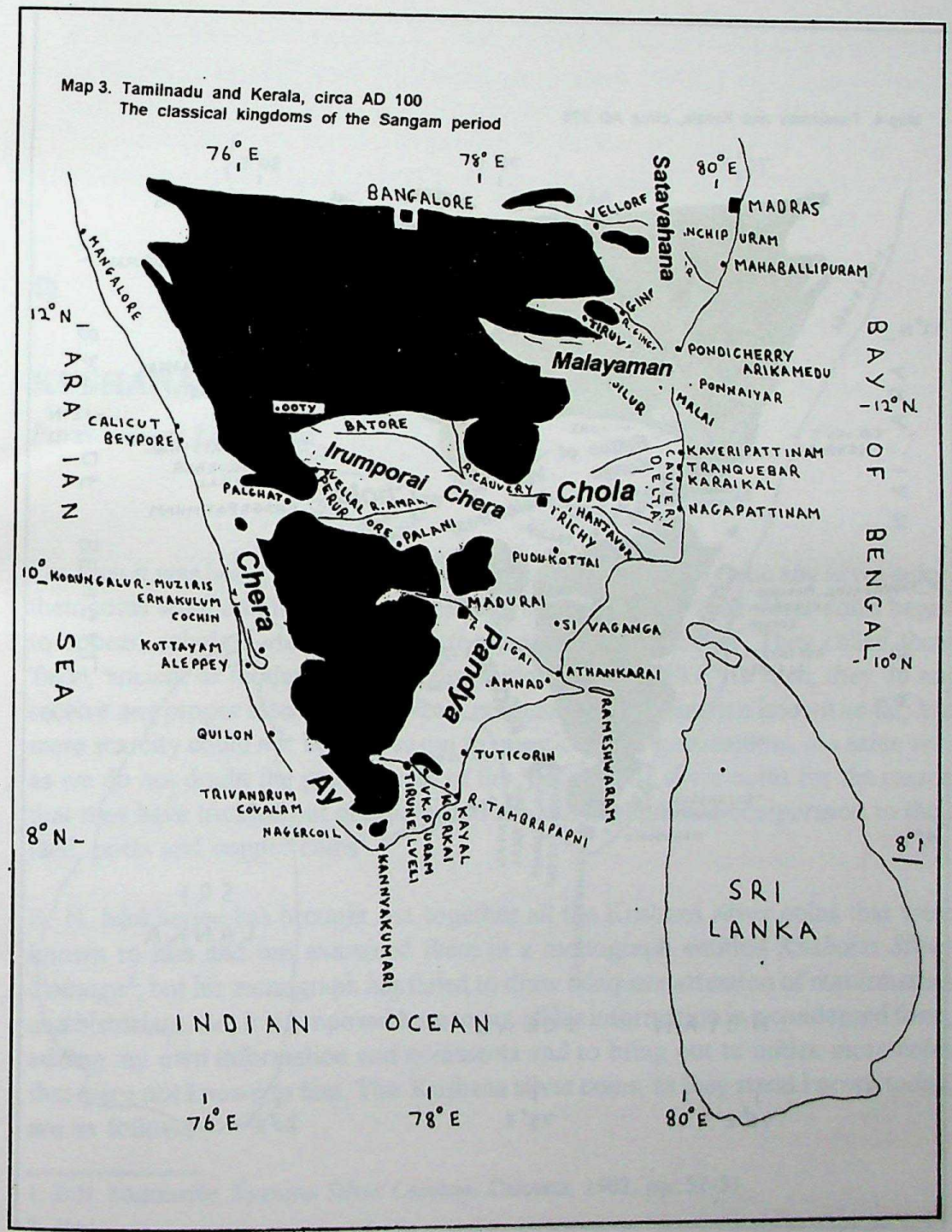

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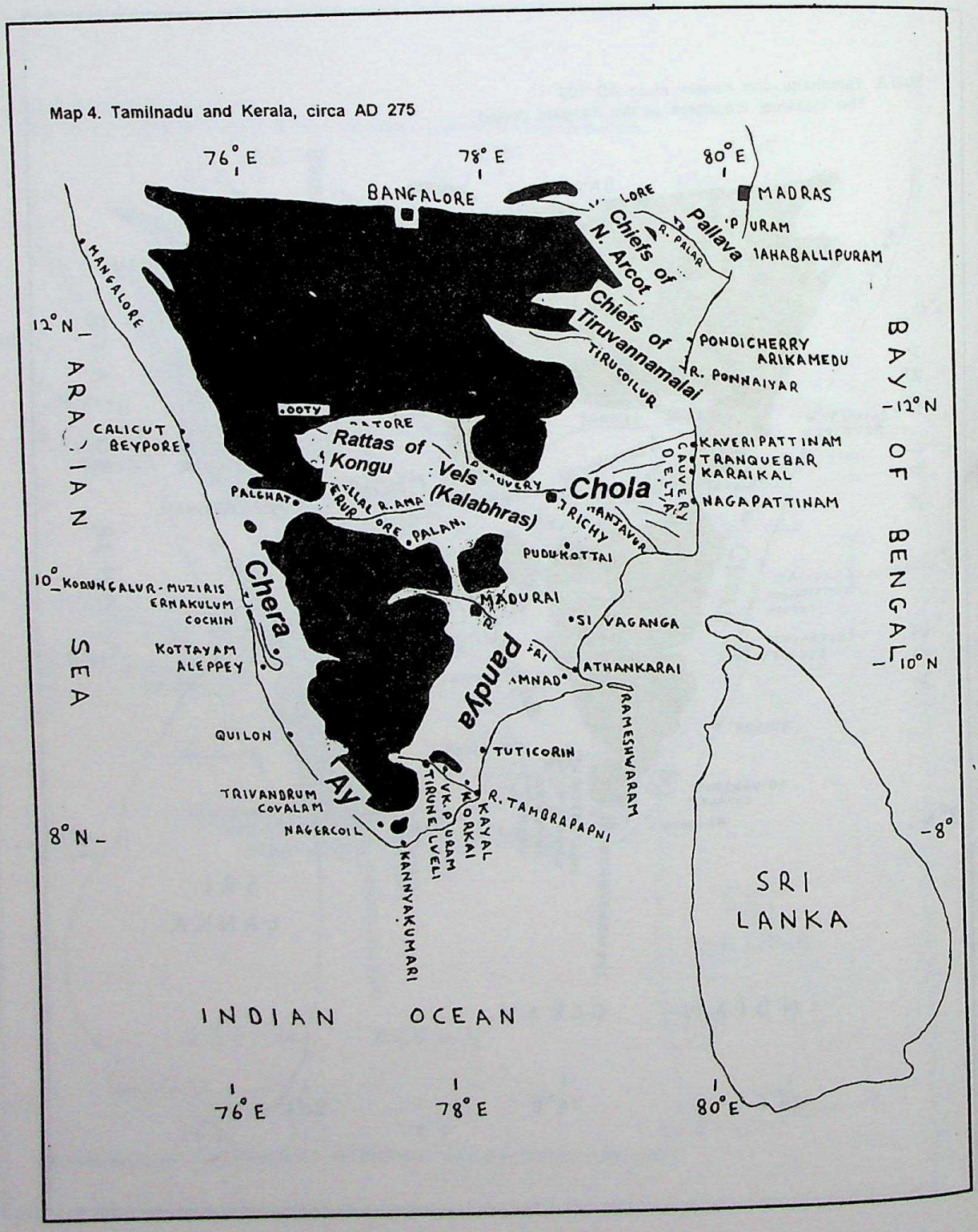

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9

KUSHANA SILVER COINS

Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

For long it was being believed that the Kushana ruler did not issue any silver coins; their coins were confined only to gold and copper. When their silver coins began to appear, scholars viewed them with suspicion and disbelief. They called them 'fake', 'ancient or modern forgery', 'proof pieces', or the like. As such, they do not receive any proper attention. It is true, not many silver coins are known so far, but mere scarcity could not be any reason to question their genuineness, the same way as we do not doubt the genuineness of the Satavahana silver coins for the reason that they have trickled out gradually and are still negligible in comparision to their lead, potin and copper coins[1].

B. N. Mukherjee has brought out together all the Kushana silver coins that were known to him and has examined them in a monograph entitled *Kushana Silver Coinage*[2]; but his monograph has failed to draw adequate attention of numismatists and historians. So, it is proposed here to put all his information in a condensed form, adding my own information and comments and to bring out to notice more coins that were not known to him. The Kushana silver coins, as they stand known today, are as follows :

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1. B.N. Mukherjee, *Kushana Silver Coinage*, Calcutta, 1982, pp. 52-53.
2. *Ibid.*

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Wima Kadphises

The largest number of silver coins, known so far, are those of Wima Kadphises. They are:

1-3. Wt: 1. 1.96 gm. (about 30.3 grains); 2. 1.88 gm. (about 29.1 grains); 3. not available.
Obv: King's bust to left emerging from the clouds, wearing conical cap.
Rev: Winged Nike to left.

These coins were found during the excavations at Sirkap, Taxila, and kept in a jar along with the coins of the Saka-Pahlava rulers Sasan, Sapendanes and Satavastra, and also some valuable objects, in the Saka-Pahlava and Kushana stratum[3]. They are now kept in the Taxila Museum.

4. Same as above, in the Taxila Museum. Its provenance is not known; but it might have been found only in the Taxila region. Details are not available. It is brought to notice for the first time by B. N. Mukherjee on the basis of a photograph supplied to him by K. W. Dobbins[4].

5. Wt. 3.66 gm. (56.5 grains).
Obv: King standing to left, before a fire altar.
Rev: Siva standing with bull. Legend OESHO.

This coin was discovered by Masson in Afghanistan in 1836 and H. H. Wilson published it in 1841[5]. It is now in the British Museum[6]. While Wilson[7], Cunningham[8], Gardner[9], and A. K. Narain[10] have no doubt about the genuineness of the coin, Whitehead thought that it was a 'proof-piece' but he too did not doubt its production

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3. Marshall, *Taxila*, 1, p. 161; 2, pp. 785-786, 820 (Nos. 258, 259, 260).
4. *Op.cit.*, p. 70.
5. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 255; pl. XI.9.
6. Gardner, *B.M.C., Greek Kings of Bactria and India*, p. 126; pl. XXV.11.
7. Wilson, *Op. cit.*, p. 355.
8. Cunningham, *NC.*, 1892, p. 70.
9. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
10. *JNSI*, 22, 1960, p. 100.

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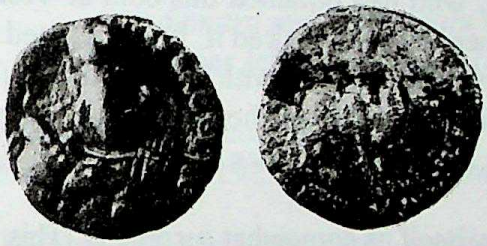
at a Kushana mint[11]. Only A. S. Altekar thought that it was a cast-piece and took it to be a modern forgery[12]. He ignored the fact that this was the earliest find of a Kushana silver coin, and was found in the ruins of the ancient site. No one would have thought of any forgery at this time in the remote tribal area. In view of these facts, there could be no reason to doubt the genuineness of the piece[13].

6. Wt. 3.78 gm. (58.3 grains); size 1.5 cm.



Obv: Bust of the king to right, emanating from the clouds. Portion of the legend available on the right, [OO]MO KADPHICOY.

Rev: Standing Siva, left hand upraised holding some object (not clear), right hand not clear. Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga Isvarasa Hima Kadaphisasa.*

The coin belonged to Craig Burns of U.S.A. It should now be in the Museum at Berne (Switzerland). It is being noticed here for the first time from a photograph in the photo-archives of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies (Nasik) provided by the collector himself (Neg. No. A/273-3).

Here, we shall pause to say that A. S. Altekar has mentioned that Gardner has published a coin of this king in the British Museum that has Nana-Oesho on the reverse[14]. But there is no such coin mentioned in Gardner's *Catalogue* as existing in the British Museum. Altekar has made this statement under some confusion and it needs no notice.

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11. Whitehead, *PMC.*, 1, p. 174.
12. *JNSI*, 14, 1952, p. 40.
13. *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
14. *JNSI*, I2, p. 13, editorial note.

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7. Wt. 2.05 gm. (31.5 grains); size: 1.9 cm.

Obv: King seated, facing right, on a *biga* (two-horse-chariot). Traces of OOEMO on the right; according to Bajpai, he has clearly read *Kadphises* after it. In the illustration the legend, however, is not clear.

Rev: Siva standing, holding trident in the right hand; left hand akimbo; behind him, Bull facing left.

This coin was published by K. D. Bajpai, who had obtained this coin at Vidisa in Madhya Pradesh[15]. According to him, when he had acquired it, it was 'coated with rust'. When cleaned, it was found that the metal was 'tin' with an admixture of lead and nickel in small quantities. He said nothing else about the coin, besides the fact that *biga*-type coins of Wima Kadphises are extremely rare.

The find of the coin in Madhya Pradesh, by itself, is somewhat surprising. This area was never under the Kushanas. Bajpai did not reveal the source of its acquisition; but in all probability, it would have been brought there in recent days from somewhere else.

Still more surprising is Bajpai's statement that the coin was made of 'tin'. By nature, tin is malleable; it takes high polish and resists corrosion; and for this reason, it is used mainly in coating and polishing metallic objects. The very fact that Bajpai himself had found the coin 'coated with rust' makes it amply clear that the main constitutent of the metal of the coin would never have been 'tin'. No coin anywhere in the world is known made of tin. It is unthinkable that this coin or any coin would have ever been made of this metal, or this coin would have been 'used as proof-piece or to pass it as any silver coin', a probability which B.N. Mukherji had thought of[16].

Though I have not seen the coin, yet I have no reason to doubt the genuineness of the coin. To me, the coin was of silver having an alloy of some part of tin and had the impurities of lead and nickel in minor quantity. Bajpai may have slipped to mention the word 'silver' inadvertently, and thus created this confusion. It is also not unlikely that this omission was the creation of printer's devil. This error would

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15. *Ibid*, 32, 1970, p. 83; pl. III. 11.
16. *Op.cit.*, p. 60, fn. 10.

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have been clarified had Bajpai been alive amongst us or had the coin been available for examination[17].

Kanishka

8. Wt. 5.008 gm. (77.3 grains).

Obv: King standing facing left before an altar, holding standard (spear) in his right hand.

Rev: Standing four-armed Siva (OESHO), holding in the upper right hand *damaru* and *kamandalu* in the lower right extended hand; trident in upper left and a *mriga* (antelope) in the lower left hand.

Provenance of the coin is not known. It was purchased by the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in about 1925-26 and is preserved there (Accession no. C 13289)[18].

B. N. Mukherjee has mentioned another coin of Kanishka without any detail[19]. It is based on a note published in *East and West*, where it is said that Count Queroni had purchased a bunch of coins 'fresh from the earth' from a native of North Afghanistan; and among them was this piece[20]. No further details are given. It is desirable that the coin is traced out and details be obtained and published.

Huvishka

9.

Obv: Bust of the king facing left, holding a club in his right and an ankusa (goad) in his left hand; legend [SHAO] NANO SHAO OESHKI KOSHANO.

17. Bajpai's son, S. K. Bajpai, was approached to trace out the coin amongst the coin collection of his father, which exists in his family. But he could not locate this coin amongst the collection. He is sure it is not in the collection that is there.
18. *ASIAR*, 1925-26, p. 299; pl. XL. f.
19. *Op. cit*, p. 49, 60, fn. 11.
20. *East and West*, 9, 1950, p. 161 fn. 10.

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Rev: Nana and Siva (Oesho standing facing each other. Symbol in between the two).

The coin was originally noticed in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India (Western circle). Later, the coin was sent to the Asiatic Society of Bombay (then the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society), to which all the coins that were being discovered in those days in the Bombay Presidency were sent under the Treasure Trove Law. It was then published by K.N. Dikshit[21]. The coin still exists with the Society (Register no. 3907). It has been photographed by the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies and is available in its photo-archives (No. A/884-3.11). Since no record is now available with the Society, nothing can be said about the provenance of the coin; but it may well be surmised that it may have been discovered somewhere only in the province of Sind, which was then a part of the Bombay Presidency.

10-11. Similar to coin no. 9 described above.
Wt. 10. 2.03 gm. (31.4 grains).
11. 2.07 gm. (31.9 grains).

Both these coins exist in the Pragmon Musuem at Berlin (Germany) and was brought to notice by A. K. Narain[22]. While publishing these coins, Narain observed that the obverse legends on them are partly in Greek and partly in Kharoshthi. But this could not be true. The two scripts — Greek and Kharoshthi — were never used on Kushana coins together after Wima Kadphises; and at no time the two scripts were placed on one and the same side of the Kushana coins. B. N. Mukherjee has rightly pointed out that the entire legend on these coins, like the others, is only in Greek script; and there is nothing to presume the presence of any Kharoshthi letter[23].

A. S. Altekar has mentioned a silver coin of the above type as existing in the Punjab Museum, Lahore[24]. But the Museum Catalogue does not mention any such coin. The reference of the Catalogue, given by Altekar, is that of a quarter gold *stater*.

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21. *JBBRAS*, 24 (OS), 1917, p. 384.
22. *JNSI*, 22, 1960, pp. 103-104; pl. II. 2-3.
23. *Op.cit.*, p. 61.
24. *JNSI*, 2. p. 113, editorial note.

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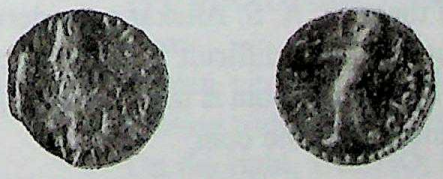
13. Wt. 4.04 gm (62.3 grains); size 1.72 x 2.0 cm.

Obv: Bust of the king facing left, wearing a round cap, holding club in right and an *ankusa* (goad) in the left hand. Legend (VII) SHAO NANO SHAO O/ESHKI K[OSHANO].

Rev: Within a cicular boarder of beads; radiant deity standing facing left; right extended; left hand akimbo; sword in the waist; legend MIIRO on the right.

The coin is in the Asiatic Society, Bombay (Register no. 3855). Provenance is not known; but it may well be surmised that it might have been discovered somewhere in Sind and would have come to the Society under Treasure Trove laws. It is so far unpublished and is brought to notice here for the first time from the photograph in the Photo-archives of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik (Neg. No. 884/1-12).

14. Wt. 1.06 gm. (16.3 grains); size 1.2 cm.



Obv: Bust of king facing left, wearing crown; holding club in the right and *ankusa* (goad) in the left hand. Legend (I) OESHKI KOSHA(N).

Rev: Within a circular boarder of beads, radiant deity, standing facing left; right hand extended holding *pasa*; left hand upraised, holding a spear. On right, MIORO.

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The coin was originally in the personal collection of Dr. M. Amjad Ali, a physisian of Warangal (Andhra Pradesh). He gifted it along with all his collection of coins and antiquities to the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik. It is now in its collection.

The provenance of the coin is not known; but it may reasonably be said that it would have been obtained from somewhere in the North or North-western India (Pakistan or Afghanistan).

The coin is in a well preserved condition. Its notable feature is that among all the Kushana silver coins, it is smallest in size and lightest in weight.

15. Wt. 1.99 gm. (30 grains).

Obv: Bust of the king to left, holding a club in the right hand and a sceptre in the left, resting on the shoulder.

Rev: Standing figure facing to the left with right hand outstretched; the left hand akimbo. The name of the deity on the right (partly missing in the broken portion) may be restored as (M)IORO.

The coin being partly broken and with a hole, the actual weight would have been higher).

The coin was in the personal collection of M. B. L. Dar, a P.C.S. officer in Uttar Pradesh; and was published by him[25]. Its present whereabout is not known.

On the basis of the published photograph of the coin, A. S. Altekar considered the coin as cast, produced from moulds[26]. But it is very difficult to pronounce any judgement merely on a printed illustration. Though the coin is not available, *prima facie*, there is nothing to suspect the genuineness of the coin.

The above coins of Huvishka may be distinguished into two groups: coins nos. 10-14 form one group showing the king holding *ankusa* (goad) in his left hand; coin no. 15 alone belongs to the second group, showing the king holding a standard. On

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25. *Ibid*, p. 113.

26. *Ibid*, editorial note.

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the basis of these distinctions, I believe that these coins belong to two kings of the same name — Huvishka II and Huvishka III. The coin showing the king with a standard is that of Huvishka III[27].

Vasudeva

16. Wt. 3.7 gm (57.1 grains).

Obv: King standing to left, holding spear in the left hand; right hand close to the altar; to left in area, trident with a fillet.

Rev: Siva (OESHO) standing; *trisula* in the upraised left hand and a *pasa* in the right extended hand; bull behind.

Nothing else is known about the coin beyond the fact that it exists in the museum at Osaka (Japan). B.N. Mukherjee has brought it to notice on the basis of a photograph supplied to him by M. Kurisu[28].

17.

Obv: Haloed king standing facing left, holding a trident in upraised right hand; right hand over the altar on the left; sword hanging from the waist; a trident with a fillet in the left field. Legend around (VII) SHAO NANO SHAO BAZODE KO SHANO, full and perfectly clear.

Rev: Within circular beaded border Siva (OESHO) standing facing, holding trident in the left and a *pasa* in the outstretched right hand. On the right, OESHO; behind bull to left.

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27. P.L. Gupta, *Kushana Coins and History*, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 166-168. Huvishka I was an earlier ruler than Kanishka, (*Ibid*, pp. 181-166).

28. *Op.cit.*, p. 52.

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The coin is similar to coin no. 16 mentioned above but well preserved. It is with the Asiatic Society, Bombay (Register no. 3880). It might have come there under Treasure Trove Law, like the other two coins mentioned above (nos. 9 and 13). It might have been found somewhere in the Sind province under Bombay Presidency. It is brought to notice here for the first time from a photograph in the photo-archives of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik (Neg. No. A884/ 2.14).

Thus, 17 silver coins of the Kushanas are known to this day and the finds of most of them were confined to north Afghanistan and the Indus region. This means to suggest that these coins were regional issues and were issued in a very small quantity. It is quite likely that these coins were issued by the Kushana kings in this region on some particular occasion and for some specific purpose. Possibly, these coins were commemoratives and were not meant for general currency.

Equally significant are the deities shown on the reverse of these coins. Nike is seen only on the coins of Wima Kadphises known from the Taxila region. This fact is indicative that these coins were issued at the very early period of Wima Kadphises when the Saka-Pahlava coins with the figure of Nike were still current. Then, on three coins of Huvishka, the Iranian deity Mihira is shown. This was quite normal for the coins of the region where Mithraism appears to have been quite popular amongst the people.

Leaving aside these coins, all the other coins of the Kushana rulers have the depiction of the Indian deity Siva (Oesho). This means that Saivism had gained popularity in Afghanistan and Pakistan at quite an early date. Here, most interesting is to note that on the coins of Huvishka, Siva (Oesho) is placed along with the non-Indian deity Nana. She is placed here just like Uma (Ommo), who is the well known consort of Siva, along with him on some Kushana gold coins . This shows that Nana on these coins has taken the place of Uma, *i.e.*, Nana was recognised as the consort of Siva. This is an evidence of the two deites, Iranian and Indian, merging into one by this time. This assumption gains strength from the fact that the *Saktipitha*, the abode of Sakti at Hinglaja in Sind (Pakistan) is known as Nayanadevi (Nania). Muslims call her Bibi Nani.

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10

ICONIC FORMS OF SHIVA ON KUSHANA COINS

B. N. Mukherjee

Different iconic varieties of Shiva appear on the coins of the Kushana monarch Vima Kadphises. On a great number of pieces, bearing a bust of Vima (rising from clouds or, in some cases, above a fence) on the obverse, the deity is shown on the reverse as standing to front with the head turned to left (*i.e.*, to his right). His raised right hand holds a trident-cum-battle-axe and his left hand carries a water-pot (*Kamandalu*). An animal pelt is over his left arm. He is either naked or wearing a diaphanous drapery covering the lower part of the body. Sometimes he is ithyphallic. His hair is knotted at the top[1]. On certain pieces, flames are seen rising from his head[2]. On a few coins a second face is attached to the back of the head in profile[3]. The second head is clearly that of an animal on several coins, showing the king in a *viga* on the obverse[4]. On some pieces, he wears a sacred thread (with an amulet)[5]. The deity is shown with a bull behind him on different varieties of coins having on the obverse (a) the standing king sacrificing at an altar[6], or (b) the royal bust rising from clouds[7] or (c) the bust set within

1. J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967 (cited below as *DAK*), II, nos. 22 and 24-26; R. Göbl, *System und Chronologie der Münzpragung des Kusanreiches*, Wein, 1984 (cited below as *SCMK*), pl. I, no. 6, pl. II, nos. 13-14, pl. III, nos. 15-20.
2. *SCMK*, pl. II, nos. 13, 2.
3. *DAK*, pl. II, no. 25; *SCMK*, pl. III, no. 17, 1.
4. *SCMK*, pl. I, no. 5, 2.
5. *DAK*, pl. VIII, no. 156.
6. *SCMK*, *Ibid.*, pl. I, no. 4, 1.
7. *Ibid.*, pl. I, no. 7, 1; pl. II, no. 12, 1-1.

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a frame[8], or (d) the king sitting on clouds[9] or (e) on a couch[10] or (f) on an elephant[11]. The deity on these pieces carries a trident and an animal pelt, but not a water-pot. Flames seem to be issuing out of his head looking to the front on a variety of these coins, displaying on the obverse the royal bust rising from the cloud[12]. The deity with his head to front has long matted hair and is adorned with a thread across his torso and a snake at his neck (?) on one of the varieties, on the obverse of which we can notice the figure of the standing king[13]. The deity may perhaps have three faces (one to the front and the others two attached to each of the two sides of the main head) on certain coins displaying the king on an elephant[14].

In this connection we can refer to a fairly large number of coins struck by Kushana kings Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva I, Kanishka III and Vasudeva II bearing on the reverse the legend *Oesho* beside a male deity. Oesho is four-handed on the reverse of the coins of Kanishka I, showing on the obverse his standing[15] or, very rarely, half-length figure[16]. Oesho has a drum in his upper right hand and a water-pot in the lower right hand. The upper left hand clasps a trident, while the lower left holds one of the horns of an antelope. His hair ends in a knot on the top of the head, behind which there is a nimbus. He wears a short lower garment (*dhoti*) and a scared thread with amulets[17].

Similar appearance of Oesho is noticeable on the coins of Huvishka, carrying a royal bust on the obverse[18]. The lower left hand holds an *ankusa* as well as a vase on several pieces[19]. On some pieces a diademed fillet seems to be tied to the deity's

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8. *Ibid.*, pl. II, no. 8, 1.
9. *Ibid.*, pl. II no. 10, 1-2.
10. *Ibid.*, pl. II, no. 11, 1-4.
11. *Ibid.*, pl. I, no. 3, 1.
12. *DAK*, pl. II, no. 21.
13. *Ibid.*, pl. I, no. 29.
14. *Ibid.*, pl. I, no. 17.
15. *DAK*, pl. VIII, nos. 158-159.
16. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, no. 160.
17. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, nos. 158-160.
18. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, no. 161-162; *SCMK*, pl. XIII, nos. 155, 1-8; pl. XXIII, nos. 308, 1, 3, 17; *etc*
19. *DAK*, pl. VIII, no. 161.

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head, with it's ends hanging behind the head[20]. On certain coins, bearing the legend *Oesha*, the drum is replaced by a thunderbolt and the antelope by a club. Moreover, the deity is here three-faced. Of these three human faces, the right one looks fierce and the left one may be that of a female[21]. One variety of this class of specie displays the three-faced deity as holding a wheel and the horns of an antelope by his upper and lower left hands, while the upper and lower right hands grasp respectively a trident and a drum[22]. Nana is noticeable by the side of Oesho on several pieces of Huvishka[23].

Different varieties of representation of Oesho is noticeable on coins of Vasudeva I, displaying his standing figure on the obverse. Variety A shows Oesho standing to front, sporting a tall hair-knot. He wears a lower garment (*dhoti*) and a sacred thread. Flames issue out of his shoulders. He is four-handed, holding a diadem, a flower (lotus), a trident and a vase (?) respectively by his upper right, lower right, upper left and lower left hands. A bull stands to right behind the deity[24]. The animal faces left on the coins of variety B, which show the three headed deity as two-armed, holding a diademed fillet and a trident by the right and left hands respectively[25]. On pieces of variety C, the bull stands to left with its head turned to front and slightly bent. Sometimes the three-headed deity has a nimbus[26]. Variety D displays the three-headed and two-armed deity holding a diadem and a trident and standing without his bull[27]. The animal stands to left, with its head turned to front, behind the three-headed and two-armed deity (holding a diadem and a fillet) on coins of variety E[28]. The issues of variety F indicate the deity as single-headed. He has matted hair with heavy side curls. His bull stands to left with its head turned to front[29].

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20. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, no. 161.
21. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, no. 164; *SCMK*, pl. XXVI, nos. 366-367. Each of the central and the right heads has a knot of hair at the top.
22. *DAK*, pl. VIII, no. 163.
23. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, nos. 165-166.
24. *Ibid.*, pl. XI, no. 210.
25. *Ibid.*, pl. X, nos. 205-206, pl. XI, no. 212.
26. *Ibid.*, pl. X, no. 208; pl. XI, no. 209.
27. *Ibid.*, pl. XIII, no. 211-212.
28. *SCMK*, pl. XXVIII, no. 504,
29. *DAK*, pl. XI, nos. 213 f.

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The last noted variety (variety F), showing a two-armed and single headed deity with a bull standing to left with its head turned to front, is adopted as a coin type of Vasudeva II[30] and Kanishka III[31]. We can notice a nimbus behind the head of the deity holding a diadem and a trident.

The above survey of different representations of Oesho on the coins of Kanishka I and his successors and of apparently the same deity appearing on coins of Vima clearly demonstrates *trisula* or trident as his most important cognizance and the bull as his mount. He is single-faced or double-faced or tripple-faced. In the second case the second face is probably that of an antelope[32] . In the instances of three faced manifestations, we have either three human faces[33] or two (or one) human and one (or two) animal faces[34]. The left face may be that of a female on a variety of Huvishka's specie[35]. The same deity has three human faces in his icon from Akhun Dheri[36], three male faces in a sculpture from Saozma Kala[37] and one human and two animal faces in a Gandhara piece[38].

The deity concerned is universally identified as Shiva. However, the name Shiva or any one of the familiar names of this god cannot be found in the Bactrian legend *Oesho* accompanying the figure of the deity on the coins of Kanishka I and his successors. However, Bactrian *Oesha*[39] can be considered to have been based on Prakrit *Visa*

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30. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kushana Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*, Calcutta, 1979, pl. V, nos. 9-14.
31. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVII, nos. 4 f.
32. *DAK*, pl. I, no. 18.
33. *Ibid*, pl. X, nos. 206-208; pl. XI, nos. 209-210.
34. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, no. 163. The left face on a variety of Huvishka's specie looks like that of an antelope, while the right one may be that of another animal (?).
35. *DAK*, pl. VIII, no. 164.
36. *Ibid*, pl. fig. 84.
37. *Ibid*, fig. 126.
38. This information is given by H. Hartel of Berlin. He thinks that the two non-human faces are of a lion and of an antelope.
39. Without the nominative inflexion *0*, the Bactrian form of the word concerned should be *Oesha*. In fact, this form occurs on some coins of Huvishka (*DAK*, pl. VIII, no. 164).

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(Gandhari Prakrit *Visha*) Sanskrit *Vrisha*[40], if we compare it (*i.e.*, *Oesho*) with the forms *Oado* < *Vata* < *Oeshki* < *Huvishka* , *Kaneshki* < *Kanishka*, *etc*[41]. The word *Vrisha* means "bull", which is the mount of Shiva. But *Vrisha* or bull on early Indian coins is also considered as the theriomorphic representation of Shiva[42]. In the *Mahabharata*, the term *Vrisha* is used as a name of Shiva himself[43]. Obviously, the name of the theriomorphic form continued also with the anthropomorphic manifestation of Shiva.

It is interesting to note that V. Liushitz had read the legend *Wspr(kr)* below the representation of a three-headed figure painted by Pyenzikent[44] in Uzbekistan in Central Asia. H. Humbach is wrong in taking the three faces as of male, alluding to creation, preservation and destruction[45]. In fact, the left face is that of a female, while the right one has an awesome appearance[46]. Here, we may have the benign (*saumya*) and destructive (*ghora*) aspects of Shiva together with his *sakti* Uma. It is interesting to note that in the Pyenzikent picture the mouth of the Uma-face releases wind. Probably the concept of Rudra, another form of Shiva, as a god of storm, helped him to have a connection with the Iranian wind god[47].

On Kushana coins and in Gandhara sculpture, wind god Oado is shown as an old man running with his mouth wide open and garments bloated with wind[48]. Thus in the

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40. *Paia-Sadda-Mahannavo* (Varanasi, 1963, p. 803). Sibilants of Sanskrit words are generally retained in N. W. Prakrit (*c.* the form *ushabha vrishabha* on a well-known coin (?) displaying the city deity of Pushkalavati on one side and bull on the other (see below n. 41).

41. B. N. Mukherjee, *Nana on Lion — A Study in Kushana Numismatic Art*, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 14 and 71 f.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 71 f; *DHI*, pp. 212-213.

43. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, reprint, Oxford, 1951, p. 1012.

44. G. Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting, The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981, p. 143 (Pyenzikent XXII), figs. 5 f.

45. *Acta Iranica*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 402-408.

46. See above, n. 44.

47. M. Monier Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 883. In the *Rigveda* the *Maruts* (the storm gods) are referred to as sons of Rudra and Prisni, the cow (representing the mottled storm cloud) and also of Vayu, and are sometimes described as self-born (*The Vedic age*, edited by R. C. Mazumdar, Bombay, 1951, p. 373). Rudra himself could be considered as the god of tempests. In these conceptions, we may have an old link between Rudra and Vayu.

48. *DAK*, pl. VIII, nos. 149-150, fig. 76.

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Kushana period, Oesho was separated from Oado. Only later in the post-Kushana age, a trait shared by Rudra (Siva) and Oado led to a connection between them, and at least in some Sogdian paintings the wind god was represented by Siva with his *ghora* and *saumya* aspects and the face of his consort[49].

In the light of this discussion, it will be difficult to accept the suggestion identifying Oesho on Kushana coins with the Iranian god Vata (Vayu) or the Sogdian Wysprkr[50]. If the identification materialised at all, it happened in a post-Kushana age.

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49. Azarpay, *op.cit.*, p. 143.
50. See above n. 45.

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11

ANCIENT MINT AT ROHTAK

Manmohan Kumar

Rohtak town (28 54'N and 75 35'E) is a centre of cultural and historical importance and lies about 70 km. west of Delhi. Rohitaka of the *Mahabharata*[1] was identified with modern Rohtak by Jay Chander Vidyalankar[2]. The name Rohitika, it has been suggested, was given to this place owing to the abundance here of the plant known in Sanskrit as *Rohitaka* (*Andersonia Rohitaka*) which has perhaps become extinct in the region during the historical times[3].

The state of Rohitaka comprised two provinces Maru and Bahudhanyaka and Prof. Vidyalankar had recognised Bahudhañyaka, as the name of a territory and fixed its capital at Rohtak[4]. The ancient remains of Rohtak are found at the mound named Khokhrakot, *i.e.*, fort of Khokars who defined Mohammad Ghori, Babur and Shershah[5]. Even today the descendants of the Khokars live in a village called Kansala in district Rohtak and in village around Meerut in UP[6].

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1. *Sabha Parva*, 32, pp. 4-7.
2. "Nakula's Conquest of the Western Quarter", *Ojha Commemoration Volume*, Section VIII, pp. 3-9.
3. Birbal Sahni, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, p. 8.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
5. Swami Osmanabad Saraswati, *Ancient Mints of Haryana* (in Hindi), p. 44.
6. *Ibid.*

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The Department of History, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak conducted an archaeological excavation at the site in collaboration with the Department of Archaeology of Harayana from 1986 to 1990 and the present researcher was one of the excavation[7]. Four-fold culture sequence was obtained during the course of the excavations Period I was characterized by the occurrence of Painted Grey Ware (PGW). The pottery was of medium fabric. The common objects were bowls and dishes of various types including straight-sided bowls with flaring rims. The paintings were mostly in black colour, but a few sherds having white and chocolate colours were also found. A few sherds of grey ware having a black slip were also found right from the earliest levels. The associated red ware was of medium and coarse fabric. Jars of various types, bowls with round incurved rims, miniature pots and basins are common. Other material included bone stylii, terra-cotta discs, wheels, *ghata*-shaped beads, flesh rubber and animal figures. An iron scythe from layer 38 was an important discovery. No structural activity was noticed during this period.

Period II is characterized by the introduction of Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) and associated wares. PGW continues in this period with a reduced frequency. The main pottery of the period was plain gray and black-slipped gray wares. The NBPW is represented by only a few sherds. The grey ware was of coarse to medium fabric. Sherds painted in black on the exterior indicated the continuity of PGW tradition. A few sherds with incised chequered pattern on the outer surface are also noteworthy. There is no marked difference in the shapes of red ware from Period I to II except that the percentage of this ware increases. Slags, nails and rings of iron and copper, form the metal assemblage of this period. Other objects include beads, bangle pieces, toy cart wheels, discs, human figurines and sling balls in terra-cotta, beads of carnelian, bangle pieces of faience, and bone stylus.

Period III is subdivided into three phases: (A) pre-Kushana, (B) Kushana and (C) post-Kushana. The main feature of the Phase (A) was the use of sun-dried bricks as well as burnt bricks (size: 50 cm x 24 cm x 7 cm), emergence of red ware and weeding out of the grey and black slipped wares. There is also

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7. *Indian Archaeology, 1986-87, A Review*, pp. 34-36.

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evidence of the use of tiles and interaction of coins, seals, moulded terracotta human figures, *etc*. The pottery include bowls, jars, basins, vases, miniature pots and storage jars. The pottery has stamped designs consisting of *swastika*, *nandipada*, and floral designs. Important antiquities are terra-cotta sling balls, beads, flesh rubbers, toy-cart wheels, discs, spindle-whorls, reels and a few human and animal figurines. A beautiful figurine of Kubera and a moulded female figurine in terra-cotta, a seal bearing the legend *Mulavapanam* in Brahmi characters of second-first century BC, spindle whorls in copper and terra-cotta, reels and stamps for printing are the other important finds. Besides, the metallic objects include copper nails, bangle pieces, iron slag, and rings. A sizeable number of shell bangle pieces are also found. Bone stylii and stone weights are the other notable finds of this period. The distinguishing feature of Phase B is the introduction of burnt bricks of 37 cm x 23 cm 7 cm size and Kushanas copper coins. The pottery comprises of red ware jars of various types, cases, lids, channel-spouted vessels, basins, miniature pots, storage jars and bowls with roundish incurved rim. A few sherds have stamped and appliqué designs. Large jars with thick brown glazed ware are also found.

Antiquities recovered include Kushana copper coins, a few rings, a razor, a gold die-struck ring or amulet depicting the head of a moustached male wearing *mukuta*, nails, fish-hooks, slag, bone stylli, terracotta shells, ivory and quartz beads, terra-cotta spindle-whorls, reels, bangle pieces, discs, sling balls, dubbers, toy-cart wheels animal (bull, horse, elephant) and human (both male and female) figurines, pendants of terra-cotta and shell, bone pins, shell bangles, stone weights, grinding stones and flesh rubber.

Phase C is represented by three structural phases and the antiquities discovered are poor as compared to those of Phase B. The stamped pottery which continued during Phase B are absent in this phase. Most of the structures were built of brickbats.

Period IV (Gupta Period) was encountered at KKT-I, located about 200 m north of KKT-2. The excavation revealed a ruined brick temple of Gupta period. It was overlying a Kushana structure. As the site was badly disturbed, it was not possible to make out the plan of the temple. The size of the bricks

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used measure 33 cm x 22 cm x 7 cm. Wedge-shaped bricks, corner pillars, petal-shaped bricks, various types of bricks with floral and geometrical designs and a few terra-cotta panels (3 complete and 2 broken) of typical Gupta period with foliage designs were found. Carved panels (47 cm x 22.7 cm) depicting animals and birds with their hind parts shown in foliage were also encountered.

After the Gupta period, the site was deserted and the population shifted to another site about 5 km. east of the site, also known as Khokhrakot.

Yaudheya Mint

It was during Period III that the site started developing into a metropolis as attested by the enormous use of burnt bricks. The mainstream of the economy of this period now shifted from agrarian to trade and commerce. The city became an important centre for textile industry as we found only the spindle whorls, reels and stumps for printing fabric. Apart from this some merchant guilds also came into existence and the sealings of one guild also came into existence and the sealings of one guild of root grower's were found during the excavations[8]. The prosperity of the city can be gauged by the use of coins and other material remains. The worship of Dhanadeva Kubera became part of the daily chorus whose terracotta figures were unearthed during the excavation.

During this period, the Yaudheyas established their kingdom here. They fortified the settlement the remains of which were encountered during the excavations and established their administrative headquarter (capital) and mint. The recent excavation like the earlier excavation did not yeild any coin moulds or the remains of mint structure. However, Sahni[9] had found thousands of coin moulds from the debris dumped at the site near Dahri Mohalla (see map). This discovery brought to light a new technique of manufacturing coins.

The Yaudheyas adopted the technique of manufacturing coins by using moulds. Such a technique was introduced in India in the third century BC[10], and this

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8. Manmohan Kumar, "Numismatic Evidence of a new Guild form Khokhrrkot" (Mss).
9. Birbal Sahni, "Antiquities from the Khokrakot Mound at Rohtak in the Jumma Valley", *Current Science*, 4, no. 11, May 1936, pp. 796-801.
10. Upender Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, p. 102.

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technique was very much different from that of preparing coins by separate punches. Further, the coins made from the moulds had a uniform look[11].

There are numerous allusions to the moulds or moulding technique in literature. We find the word *Sancaka* in *Nasadhiyacarita* denoting a mould[12]. The general term used for mould is *musa*[13]. The Sanskrit grammarian Bhatta Mulla of *Akharyayana candrika* derives this term from an Indo-European root[14]. The *Arthas*
astra also refers to *musa* as *Ritta musa* or 'the crucible'[15]. The *Mrchhakatika* indirectly makes a reference to a mould for producing coins[16]. Similarly, the *Amarakosa* explains *musa* as a crucible for glowing metal[17] and Vanjayanti also refers to *musa* in the sense of a mould[18]. The *Samarangana Sutradha*[19] describes various kinds of moulds, while Thakkura Pheru discusses the complete process of casting coins from moulds[20].

The discovery of coin moulds throws light not only on the technique of manufacturing coins, but also reveals the existence of a mint or mint town which was, in most cases, the capital city of a particular dynasty or repulic. Since the coin is peripatetic the mould is static and never passes into circulation[21]. It is due to this reason that we feel the site which yielded coin moulds was most likely a mint site. The discovery of the Yaudheya coin moulds at Khokhrajot (Rohtak) indicates that the site was their capital mint town, and it was here in *c.* 2nd-Ist. century BC that the coins of *Yaudheyanam Bahudhañaka* type (Class 2 of Allan) were fabricated.

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11. *JNSI*, 23, p. 181.
12. *Cf.* Thakur, *op.cit.*, p. 102.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Wadekar, *Mirashi Felicitation Volume*; *cf.* Thakur, *op.cit.*, p. 103.
15. Thakur, *op.cit.*, p. 103.
16. *Ibid.*
17. 11-10.
18. *Bhumi-Kanda Sutra*, p. 17.
19. IV, 24.73.
20. *Dravya Pariksha*, vv, 4-47.
21. Sahni, *op. cit.*

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The moulds found here are of one basic type, but have many variations in design, devices, script, form of letters, composition of legend and design of elephant on the reverse[22]. Since duringour excavation or explorations we did not come across any mould of the Yaudheya hence we have to rely upon the description provided by Sahni who not only studied original moulds but also their casts[23].

He explains that the moulds were made up of a series of discs placed in a vertical column, like a pile. The whole pile was plastered over with clay, only a funnel-like crater being left at the top for receiving the molten metal. (Fig. I). The crater led vertically down into a central canal, like a shaft of a mine from which horizontal channels led out at different levels and these opened into as many coin sockets arranged in a ring (Plate 1, nos. 1 and 2). The coupled faces of contiguous discuss bore the negative impressions of the obverse and reverse of the coins respectively[24].

After the metal was poured in and the mould cooled down, the coins attached in works at the end of the spokes were broken off and cleaned. Birbal Sahni has compared the Khokrakot moulds with Roman moulds and concluded that although the Roman moulds could be used repeatedly, Yaudheya moulds could be used only once; on the other hand the Khokhrakot moulds, in use at least a couple of hundred years earlier, were of distinctly finer construction and capable of producing a much larger number of coins at a single casting[25]. The Rohtak moulds may also be compared with the ancient Chinese system of casting coins in a circle[26] or with the stone mould for casting Pao Luh Kwa coins "arranged like a tree whose stem and branches are the rivulets for the metal and fruits or leaves the coins"[27].

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22. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-18.
23. *Ibid.*, pl. 2 and 3 respectively.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
26. T. De Sacouerie, *Catalogue of the Chinese Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1892, p. xxv.
27. *Ibid.*, p. xxviii; *cf.* B. N. Mukherjee and P.K.D. Lee, *Technology in Indian Coinage*, Calcutta, 1988, p. 17.

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Here, we would like to mention that another mint of the Yaudheyas, from where a large number of similar coin moulds were found, was located at Naurangabad, a site about 40 km. from Rohtak. At this latter site, a similar technique of casting coins was used, but discs capable of casting fifteen coins were prepared[28]. The discs found have two of coin sockets: the outer circle has ten while the inner circle has five (Plate IV, nos. 1 and 2).

Now comes the question whether Rohtak moulds are the handiwork of a forger or an official mint really existed. Birbal Sahni writes that where forger's technique is similar to that of the original one particular when forger is contemporary with the currency, the detection becomes difficult. He relies upon the evidence of location, technique design and script, *etc.* and concludes, "there seems nothing to indicate that our (Rohtak) moulds did not belong to an authorised mint[29]. Similarly, K. K. Dasgupta also considers Khokhrakot to be an official mint town[30]. However, R Burn writes, "it cannot be said with certainly whether Rohtak moulds were official or forgeries"[31]. A.N. Lahiri is also suspicious about the Yaudheya coin moulds[32]. A. M. Shastri is of the opinion that the Yaudheya coins appear to have been produced from dies by the hammer and anvil process and the Yaudheya coin moulds were meant for counterfeiting coins[33]. But the present researcher differs from him, and considers Rohtak to be the official mint (as well as capital) of the Yaudheyas. Here, we would like to refer to Sahni who writes that where the forger's technique is similar to the official one, we have to rely upon such evidence as the location (which may be different from any of the authorised mint-places), flaws in the construction, *etc*[34]. We do not suspect the wisdom of Sahni who did not find any evidence of fraud.

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28. Swami Osmanabad Saraswati, *op.cit.*, p. 39.
29. Sahni, *op.cit.*, p. 29.
30. *Tribal History of Ancient India*, p. 19.
31. Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
32. "The Minting Techniques of the Tribal Coins", in J.P. Singh and N Ahmad (eds.), *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1977, pp. 79-81.
33. "Contemporary Forgeries of Yaudheya Coins", *Numismatic Studies*, 4.
34. Sahni, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

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As regards the location of the mint, we would like to elaborate a little since the researcher had personally conducted the archaeological excavations at the site and also studied the maps prepared by Sahni showing the location from where the discovery of the moulds was made. The site pin-pointed by Sahni was taken up for excavations. Since the coin moulds were all found at one very localised spot and no building of any kind was found at the place[35], we thought of conducting the excavations adjacent to the site (see map). Here, we did not find any coin mould or structure connected with the mint. However, we encountered a fortified wall of the Yaudheya period. The contemporary habitation layers yielded the early Yaudheya coins, and the spot from where the moulds were found by Sahni falls within the fortified township of the Yaudheyas. We cannot think of a forger producing a large number of coins in such close proximity to the authorities. The foragers normally use far flung areas and isolated spots. Thus, we may conclude that Khokhrakiot was at that time the capital of the Yaudheyas and, within fortified area, forgers mint cannot be expected to produce such a large number of coins as is evident from the discovery of thousands of moulds.

Indo-Greek Coin Moulds

The site has also yielded coin moulds for preparing the silver coins of Indo-Greek king Menander, although the coins of 16 kings were found at Roktak[36]. The moulds of Manander found here are of disc-type, having four coin sockets. The central hole has channels leading to coin sockets for carrying molten metal. (Fig. 2, no. 3). These moulds have, on the obverse, bust of king and Greek legend and the reverse has Athena thundering with a Kharosthi legend (Plate II, nos. 1 and 2). If we compare the technique of casting coins of the Yaudheya coins and Indo-Greek coins, it appears that the technique employed by the Yaudheyas was quite sophisticated while the technique employed for casting the Indo-Greek coins was cruder, and may have been employed by the forger. Moreover, we know that the Indo-Greek coins were prepared by the die-stricking technique, and hence these are not of any official mint.

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35. *Ibid.*
36. Souvenir, issued at the time of 54th Session of Indian Historical Records Commission, April 20-21, 1992, p. 11.

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It is well known that during 2nd-1st century BC, the Yaudheyas issued only bronze coins. It is quite probable that the earlier silver punch marked coins were still serving the needs of silver currency and the forgers moulded silver punch marked alongwith Indo-Greek coins during that time.

Kushana Mint

Once an official mint was established at Rohtak in 2nd-1st. century BC, people connected with this operation became well acquinted with the technique of casting coins. They continued to cast the coins even after the official mint ceased to exist after the fall of the Yaudheyas. because, despite the fact that the city lost its geo-political importance after the Yaudheyas, it continued to be a commercial centre as is attested by the archaeological excavations. During the Kushana period also the city appears to have served as a foregers' mint site. A clay mould found here was published by V.S. Agrawal[38]. It has a diameter of .8" and a female figure standing to right, holding a cornucipiae in her upraised left hand. The right hand is fixed at the elbow and placed near the girdle. She is shown as wearing a turban on head, pendentsm a sleeved jacket and a *dhoti* dropping from front. It has the legend *Ardoksho* in Greek. This mould was used for casting a gold coin of king Huvishka. The site has also yielded a few clay moulds of the same king[39]. One of these moulds has a half length figure of the king on the obverse and other devices with legend on one side only (Plate II, no. 3), while another has obverse devices on one side (as on mould no. 1) and on the other side has reverse devices with deity Ardoksho and Huvishka symbol and legend in Greek (Plate II, no. 4).

The technique of casting Kushana coins is different from that employed for the Yaudheyas. Here, we find two different methods of casting. In the first technique, a series of moulds having either obverse or reverse devices were joined together and pairs of discs, each forming a set of moulds for obverse and reverse, were placed one above the other vertically or side by side horizontally so as to make

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37. A large number of coin moulds for preparing Punch-marked coins were found from Naurangabad, Swami Omanand Sarswati, *op.cit.*, pp. 31-35, pl. nos. 1-26.
38. *JNSI*, 15, pp. 68-69.
39. See n. 36 above.

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a cylindrical pile. The 'V' shaped opening on the rim of each pair was used for channeling the molten metal into the inner coin socket.

In the second technique moulds with both obverse and reverse devices on both sides were used. The pairing of such moulds was then placed back to back in cylindrical pile and on both sides of the long cylinder, moulds with single face (obverse or reverse) were used.

A. S. Altekar[40] is inclined to take the coin mould published by Agrawal to be a forgery and suggests that the local rulers of Punjab might have issued Kushana coins from moulds during the 3rd, 4th, and 5th centuries, AD owing to their great prosperity. We do not take these moulds to be of the official Kushana mint, nor do we agree with Altekar. Rather, we feel that these coin moulds from Rohtak seem to be the handwork of forgers who make fortune by debasing the coins.

Gupta Coin mould

It is a well known fact that the coins of the Guptas were made by die stricking technique. However, we have evidences of Gupta coin moulds from Rajghat[41] and Nalanda[42]. Recently, a terra-cotta coin mould was found at Khokhrakot[43]. This mould carries the obverse of the archer type gold coin of Chandragupta II. It is of grey colour, with a diameter of 2.8 cm (1.8 cm actual coin size), and it is blank on the back with some luting marks. The details of this mould (Plate II, no. 5) are as follows:

Obv: King standing to left in *dvibhanga mudra*, holding bow in his left hand and arrow in the right. He is shown as wearing coat and cap, *garuda* standard in front and crescent at the back of the head. Legend *Chandra* under his left arm and traces of circular legend.

Rev: Blank.

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40. *Indian Numismatic Chronicle* (*INC*), 3, p. 85.

41. Sahni, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

42. G. C. Chandra, "Excavations at Nalanda", *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report*, 1935-36, p. 52, pl. xii.d.

43. Manmohan Kumar, "Gupta Coin Moulds: Forgery or Trade Compulsion ?" *Numismatic Studies*, 2, pp. 119-122, pl. xii A & B.

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According to Thakur, there is no doubt that Nalanda formed the mint town of the Guptas[44]. He thus considers the mould as an official one. Regarding the mould of Baladitya form Nalanda, Altekar thinks that king Baladitya, who was one of the great partons of Nalanda, had apparently taken some moulds of his gold coins in order to give donation in gold *dinaras* for different needs of the university[45]. But we feel that these coin moulds of Gupta gold coins found from Rajghat, Nalanda and Khokhrakot do not form part of the official Gupta mint[46]. It seems that these coin moulds were the handiwork of some contemporary forger who used to prepare counterfeit gold coins in order to make illicit gains.

Second Mint (Khokhrakot II)

After the Gupta period, the site of Khokhrakot was abondoned and the habitation shifted to a new site a few kms east of the site. This site is also known as Khokhrakot and, for convenience sake, we call it Khokhrakot II. Here the remains upto the medieval period are found. This site was in tune deserted around 11-12th century and the original site was again inhabited but only partially to the southern side which is occupied down to the present times. With the shifting of the settlement, minting activities were also shifted to the new site where we find Indo- Sassanian, *gadhaiya*, *Adivaraha*, and Shahi coin moulds[47].

The site has yielded 609 coin moulds of Indo-Sassanians[48]. These moulds have either obverse or reverse devices on them and have a 'V' shaped cut for pouring metal. The obverse of the moulds has an usual bust of king, while the reverse has a fire altar with attendants. The moulds with obverse and reverse devices were joined together and put in a cylindrical pile and plastered. Molten metal was poured into the channel formed by the 'V' shaped cut on the rim of the moulds and the vertical hole carried the metal into the coin socket (Plate III, nos. 1 and 2) After the metal cooled down, the moulds were broken and coins taken out and cleaned. No mould having devices on both sides was found here, and this points to the fact that the technique employed was quite crude and

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44. *INC*, 3, pp. 95-96.
45. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 335.
46. *NS*, 2, pp. 11-12.
47. See n. 36 above.
48. Swami Osmanand Sarswati, *op.cit.*, p. 109, pl. nos. 710-36.

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simple. This can be the handiwork of forgers and, secondly, we have no evidence to prove that it was an official mint of the Indo-Sassanians.

The Indo-Sassanian coins further degenerated into the so-called *gadhaiya* coins. Such coins are also found at the site along with their moulds. Swami Omanand Saraswati found 335 coin moulds of this type from the site[49]. The moulds found her have either the obverse or reverse devices on them. The obverse devices show crude bust of king and cluster of dots while the reverse has a fire altar formed of dots and dashes (Plate III, nos. 3-6).

The site has yielded the *Adivaraha* type coins and moulds of Mihira Bhoja (AD 836-872). About 5200 coin moulds of this type were unearthed here[50]. These moulds have either obverse or reverse devices on one side only. The obverse device has the boar (*varaha*) incarnation of Lord Vishnu, while on the reverse two line nagari legend *srimadadivarha* is written. On all the moulds, the figure of varaha as well as the inscription is incomplete. The technique of casting the coins is similar to the one employed for preparing Kushana Gupta, Indo-Sassanian and *gadhaiya* type coins (Plate III, nos. 7 and 8).

The next important coin series manufactured here is of the Shahis. Two types of Samanta Deva coin moulds are found here, one disc type mould having 4 coin sockets and another with only one coin socket. Two moulds of the first type and five of the second have been reported from the site[51].

The moulds of the first type have 'V' shaped cut on the rim from where the channel bifurcates to two different coin sockets, while other small channels lead to two other sockets. The obverse and reverse moulds were joined together and plastered forming a horizontal cylinder, and the metal was poured through the 'V' shaped canal. The metal reached the sockets through vertical holes from the channels. This technique is similar to the technique employed by the Yaudheya. The moulds of second type have either obverse or reverse devices which could

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49. *Ibid.*, p. 96, pl. nos. 643-704.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 95, pl. nos. 736-64.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 102, pl. nos. 745-46, 50, 5 and 739 and 43.

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be joined and plastered ina cylindrical pile. Molten metal was poured into 'V' shaped canals which have vertical holes through which molten metal shifted to the socket. The obverse devices found on the coin mould have horseman on the obverse and recumbent bull and nagari inscription on the reverse (Plate III, nos. 9-10).

From the above account, we may conclude that Rohtak mint, whether official or forgers', played an important part in the economic activity of the region. It was from here that we find for the first time the evidence of a new and sophisticated technique of manufacturing coins by casting. The Yaudheya moulds of *Bahudhañyaka* type are the earliest of the coin moulds found so far and they attained a high degree of technical skill and were far ahead of their contemporaries. As is evident from the preceding accounts Rohtak has yielded the coin moulds of the Yaudheyas and a number of other dynasties and Naurangabad is the only site which has yielded more moulds of different periods. But now the question arises as to how two very important mints existed so close teach other and produced coins of identical types. A close scrutiny of coin moulds of Rohtak and Naurangabad along with the detailed analysis of the coins found in the region may throw light on this problem.

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Key to Plates

Plate I

1. Reconstruction of a disc (obverse face) with the help of the fragments of various discs, after Sahni.
2. Reconstruction of disc (reverse face), after Sahni.

Plate II

1. Indo-Greek coin mould. On obverse, there is the diademed bust of king and Greek inscription, while the reverse shows Athena hurling thunderbolt and a Kharosthi legend.
2. Indo Greek coin mould having same devices on both the sides.
3. Coin mould of the gold coin of Huvishka, showing obverse devices; the reverse is blank.
4. Mould having devices on both the faces. The obverse has devices as on no. 3, while reverse shows Ardoksho.
5. Coin mould of Chandragupta II's archer type coin.
6. Pile of coin moulds, arranged horizontally.
7. Plaster cast of mould no. 4 (obverse).
8. Plaster cast of mould no. 3.
9. Plaster cast of mould no. 4 (reverse).

Plate III

1. Indo-Sassanian coin mould with reverse devices.
2. Same as no. 1.
3. *Gadhaiya* coin mould having obverse devices.
4. *Gadhaiya* coin mould with reverse devices.
5. Same as no. 3.
6. Same as no. 4.
7. *Adivaraha* type coin mould of king Bhoja (obverse).
8. *Adivaraha* type coin mould with reverse devices.
9. Coin mould of Samantadeva, having obverse devices.
10. Coin mould of Samantadèva, with reverse devices.

Plate IV

1 and 2. Reconsturction of disc having 15 coin sockets in arranged in two rows from Naurangabad.

Figure I

Diagram showing complete process of coin making, after Sahni.

Figure II

1. Reconstruction of a disc showing 15 coin sockets arranged in 5 bunches (from Naurangabad), after Swami Osmanabad Saraswati.
2. Process of making coins with coin moulds: a. Coin mould arranged in a pile horizontally; b. Arranged vertically
3. Reconstruction of disc having 4 coin sockets.
4. Map of Khokhrakot showing the site from where moulds were found. After Sahni.

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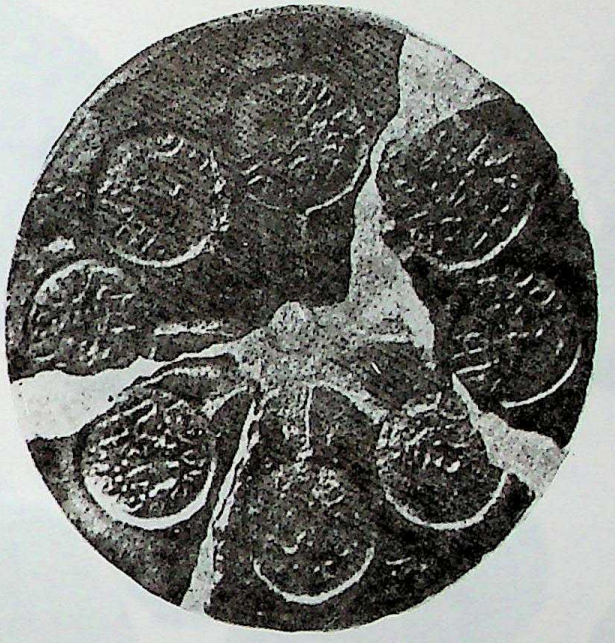
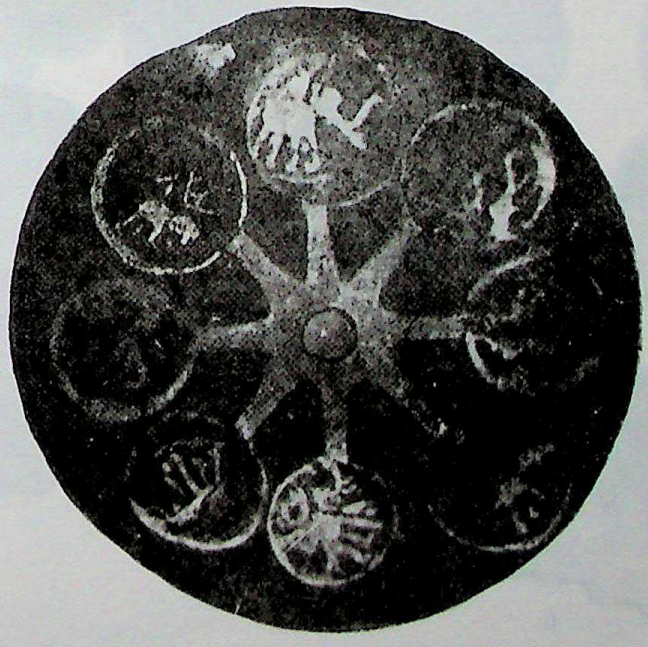
Plate I



1



2

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Plate II

1 2 3 4 5 6

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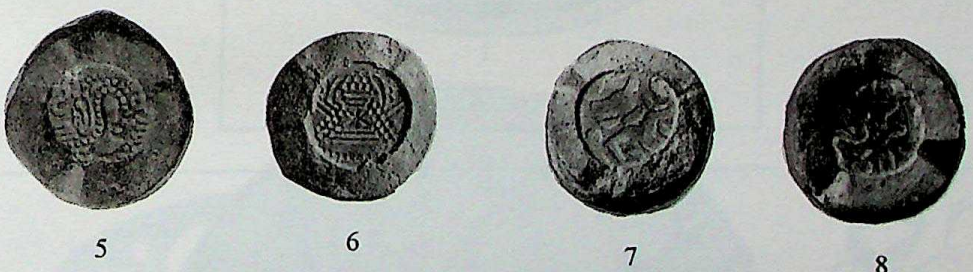
7 8 9

Plate III

1 2 3 4



5 6 7 8

9 10

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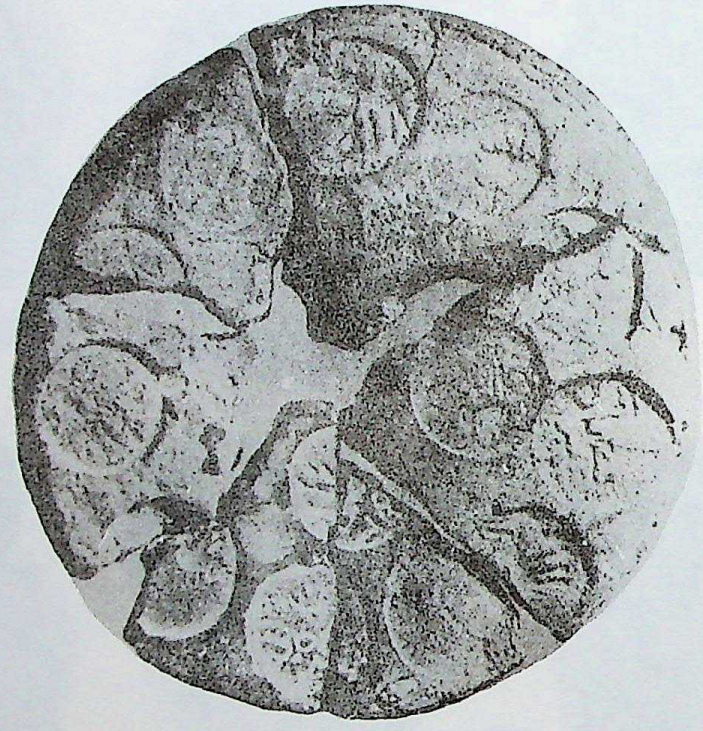
Plate IV



1

2

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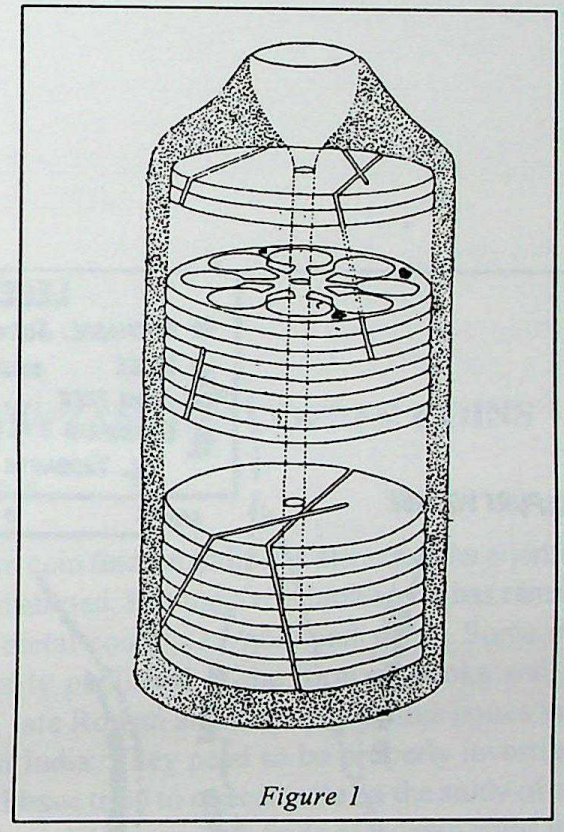

Figure 1

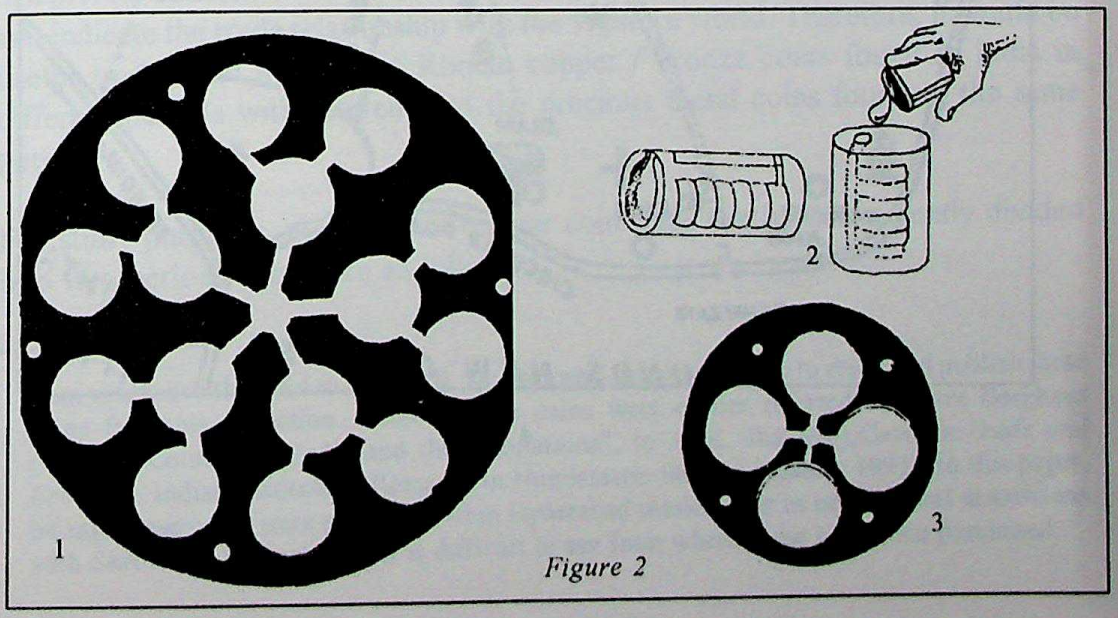

Figure 2

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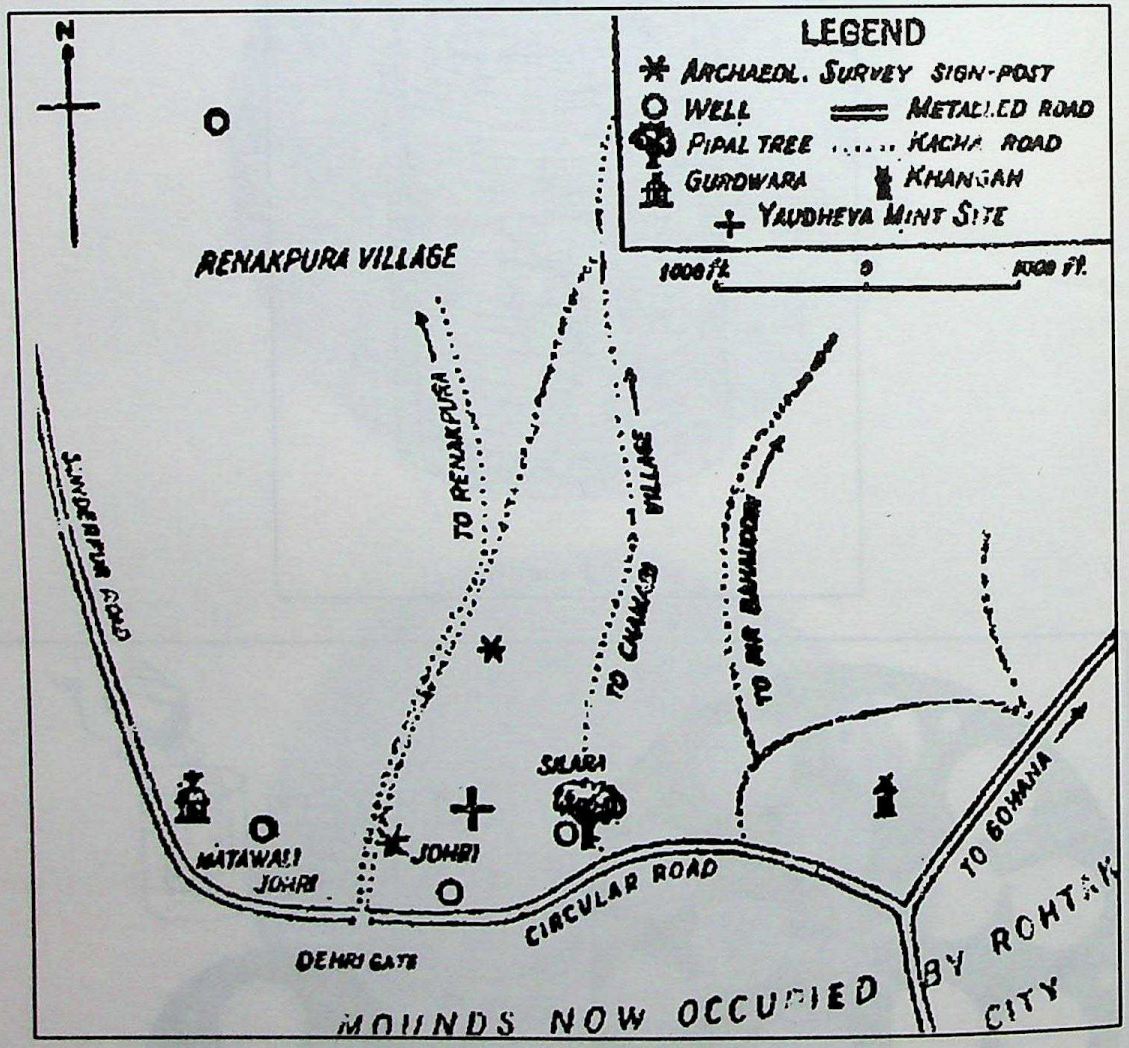

4

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12

ROMAN AND BYZANTINE COPPER COINS

P. V. Radhakrishnan

The study of Roman coin finds in India has attracted the attention of many scholars, both from India and abroad. But their attention so far has remained restricted to the study of precious metal coins, *i.e.*, gold and silver. Some of these studies have already been properly published in the form of books and articles. But a large number of Roman, late Roman and a few Byzantine issues in copper / bronze are also being found in India. They need to be properly investigated and studied. In this present paper, I have tried to concentrate on the study of such pieces which are in a private collection[1]. We know that finds of Roman coins in India are important and indicate the trade relationship with the Western world. Therefore, it would be useful to have an account of Roman copper / bronze coins found in India in different periods with reference to the precious metal coins found in the same period.

For study purposes, the range of copper coin finds can be conveniently divided into five periods. They are as follows:

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1. I am very much thankful to Shri K. K. Maheshwari for allowing me to study and publish these coins from his collection. These Roman coins were earlier referred by Peter Berghaus ("Roman Coins from India and their Imitations", in A. K. Jha (ed.),*Coinage Trade and Economy*, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nashik, 1991). In this paper, he says these coins were purchased from Hyderabad market. But in my personal discussions with Shri K. K. Maheshwari, it is difficult to say from where these have been purchased.

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1. Augustus to Caracalla (27 BC to AD 217)
2. Post-Caracalla and Pre-Aemilian (AD 218-253)
3. Aemilian to Pre-Diocletian (AD 253-284)
4. Diocletian to Honorius (AD 284-423) and
5. Theodosius II to Justin I (AD 402-527)

1. Augustus to Caracalla (27 BC to AD 217)

A few Roman copper coins are in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Government Museums at Baroda and Junagarh in Gujarat. The majority of these coins were purchased from the dealers and are recorded without findspots. Out of these, the coins from the Indian Museum[2] have been published earlier and the coins in the Government Museums at Baroda and Junagarh remain unpublished[3]. The precious metal coins of this period are many and are mainly reported from South India, a few from Central and Western India. Most of these coins are already properly studied and published[4].

2. Post Caracalla and Pre-Aemilian (AD 218-253)

No Roman copper coins are known for this period except for a few coins which are in the Indian Museum (Calcutta) cabinet and the Royal Asiatic Society of

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2. James Prinsep, "On the Ancient Roman Coins in the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society", *JASB*, 1, 1832, pp. 392-408; H. H. Willson, "Description of Select Coins from Originals or Drawings in the Possession of the Asiatic Society", *Asiatick Researches*, 17, 1832, pp. 559-606; E. Roer, "A Catalogue of the Coins of Roman Emperors in the Cabinet of Asiatic Society", *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal: JASB*, 12.1, 1843, pp. 136-152; G. H. Freeling, "On the collection of coins in the Society's cabinet", *JASB*, 26, 1857, pp. 234-238; C. J. Rodgers, *Catalogue of the coins, Graeco Bactrian and other Ancient coins*, part III, 1985 (reprint), Delhi, pp. 103-105; P. J. Turner, *Roman Coins from India*, Royal Numismatic Society, London, 1989, pp. 96-100.
3. The coins from Govt. Museum, Junagarh, has been documented, for the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, by the author himself for the Project Foreign Coins found in Southern and Western India. The coins from Museum and Picture Gallery have not been documented, but seen by the author.
4. P. L. Gupta, *The Early Coins from Kerala*, Kerala State Dept. of Arch., Series no. 1, Trivandrum, 1965; T. Sathyamurthy, *Catalogue of Roman Gold Coins*, Dept. of Arch., Thiruvananthapuram, 1992; P. L. Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh*, A. P. Govt. Museum, Series no. 10, Hyderabad, 1965; V. V. Krishnasastry, *Roman Gold Coins, Recent discoveries in Andhra Pradesh*, A. P. Museum, Series no. 21, Hyderabad, 1992, and Turner, *op.cit.*

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Bombay. These are recorded without any information about the provenance. This is the case for the precious metal coins too[5]. The absence of Roman coins during this period in India can possibly be attributed to the changes taking place in the Roman Empire itself. We know that during this period, trading activities passed into the hands of the Axumites and the Sassanids[6]. There was a shortage of precious metals in the Roman Empire. Roman silver coins of this period were debased and there was a decrease in the weight of gold coins. The production of gold coins decreased in quantity[7]. All these facts taken together lead us to suggest that trading activities during this period may have been affected to a great extent. The direct exchange of commodities can also be visualized. Here, it should be noted that Tamil Sangam literature[8] mentions the import of horses from foreign countries. *Yavana* ships laden with horses coming to Indian ports demonstrate the exchange of goods.

3. Aemilian to Pre-Diocletian (AD 253-284)

In this period, a good number of copper coins with known findspots have been recorded from Gujarat, but nothing much has been written on these coins. A fairly good number of copper coins dating from this period are also in the collection of

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5. The only information that we have about precious metal coins which might be related to this Period are the six silver coins with radiated heads in the collection of the Museum and Picture Gallery at Baroda. They were purchased on 24.4.1898 from a dealer, A. Bhicaji and Company, Bombay. However, it needs confirmation as to whether they belong to the early Antoninianus or Aurelianus, since both denominations are issued with radiated heads. The author has seen these coins in the showcase of the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda.
6. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, London, 1974 (revised edition), p. 137.
7. Andrew Burnet, *Coinage in the Roman World*, Seaby, London, 1987, p. 112.
8. **தீரின் வந்த நிமிர்பரிப் புரவியும்** . While describing the goods reaching the port of Puhar, the port city of the Cholas, the poet gives a list of goods. In that, the first item listed is the horse coming from the sea. This reference has been dated before 3rd century AD; *cf.*, *Pattupattu (tr.* J. V. Chellia), Tamil University, Thanjavur, 1985 (reprint), p. 38, idyll *Pattinapalai*, l. 185. Speaking about the lands adjoining the sea (*Pattupattu,* idyll *Madurai Kanchi*, ll. 321-23, p. 248), the poet describes the harbour and the goods, including horses, reaching from distant countries on ships:

விழுமிய நாவாய் பெருநீ ரோச்சுநர்
நனந்தலைத் தேஎத்து நன்கலன் உய்ம்மார்
புணர்ந்துடன் கொணர்ந்த புரவியொ டினைத்தும்

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the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay. Very few coins are reported from Madurai or Karur in Tamilnadu. Among the 13 coins purchased from Ooty, two fall into this period and are in the collection of the Government Museum, Madras. For precious metal, a single hoard is known of gold coins from Bamanhatti in Orissa. This hoard is said to have contained, among others, the coins of Gordian and Constantine[9].

4. Diocletian to Honorius (AD 284-423)

A large number of coins are known in copper for this period from Western, Northern and Southern India. Most of these coins are known from Madurai and Karur in Tamilnadu[10]. Two Roman copper coins were found in the excavations at Alagankulam in Ramanathapuram district conducted by the State Archaeological Department, Tamilnadu[11]. The excavations yielded a coin of Valentine II and a coin of Arcadius. The Asiatic Society of Bombay has approximately 80 copper coins belonging to this period[12]. The Indian Museum, Calcutta, has few coins in its collection. For precious metal, three coins are known for Constantine I, II and Constans II from the Panch Mahal district of Gujarat[13], from Kudavelli[14] in Andhra Pradesh and from Tirumangalam[15] in Tamilnadu respectively.

5. Theodosious II to Justin I (AD 402-527)

The copper coins known for this period come mainly from Tamilnadu. No coins are recorded from finds in Gujarat. Some copper coins of Justin I, Justinian I,

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9. J. D. Beglar, *ASI Report of Tours in the Southeastern Provinces in 1874-75 and 1875-76*, 13, 1882, pp. 72-73.
10. A detailed study on these coins has been made by R. Krishnamurthy, *Late Roman Copper Coins from South India: Karur and Madurai*, Madras, 1994.
11. Natana Kasinathan, "Roman coins from Alagankulam excavations", *Studies in South Indian Coins*, 3, 1993, pp. 47-50.
12. A detail study on these coins is in progress by the author.
13. Lance Dane, "Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers", paper presented at the Fourth International Colloquium on Foreign Coins Found in the Indian Sub-continent, Indian Institute of Research In Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri, Nashik, 1995.
14. N. C. Ghosh, & K. Ismail, "Two Foreign Gold Coins from the excavations at Kudavalli, Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh", *JNSI*, 42, 1980, pp. 11-17.
15. E. Thurston, *Roman, Indo-Portuguese and Ceylon*, 2nd revised edition, Catalogue no. 2, Madras, 1894, p. 29; H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon coins and Currency*, Colombo, 1984 (reprint), p. 31.

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Justin II, Heracleus and anonymous issues of the 10th and 11th centuries AD are in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay[16]. Gold coins, on the contrary, are known in large numbers from Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh. A few coins of this period are in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda. The coins deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum[17] are said to have been found at Western India. The coins in the collection of the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda,[18] were purchased from a dealer and comprise gold scyphate coins of Michael IV, Constantine IX and Manuel I which can be dated from AD 1034-1186. They are worth noting because such coins are otherwise not known anywhere else in India. Fairly large numbers of coins from Theodosius II to Justinian I are known from Katryal[19] and Akkailur[20] in Karnataka, Puthankavu[21] in Kerala, Kalikanayakan Palaiyam[22], Kulatupalayam[23], Madurai[24], Malayadipudur[25] and Thirumangalam[26] in Tamilnadu. Apart from these coins, a few imitations are also known from Bahavanpavam[27], Weepangundala[28] in Andhra Pradesh and Tammayanayakampatty[29] in Tamilnadu for this period.

In the above discussion, the different periods of Roman copper coin finds in India clearly show that copper coins so far noted mainly belong to periods three to five.

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16. See f.n. 12.
17. A monograph is under preparation by D. W. MacDowall on the Roman Coin collection of this Museum.
18. B. L. Mankad, "The coin collection of the Baroda Museum", *JNSI*, 23,1961, pp. 437-38.
19. P. L. Gupta, "Early Byzantine Solidi from Karnataka", *ND*, 7, 1984, pp. 38-38.
20. *Ibid.* pp. 37-43.
21. *MMAR*, 1904, pp. 5-6, 9.
22. *MMAR*, 1916, pp. 5-6.
23. *MMAR*, 1934, Acc. no. 423.
24. T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, Asian Education Service, New Delhi, 1984 (reprint), p. 18.
25. *MMAR*, 1918:3:7.
26. Thurston, *op.cit.*, p. 29.
27. Turner, *op.cit.*, p. 49.
28. P. L. Gupta,"An Interesting Treasure-Trove from Weepangandla (Maheboobnagar)", *JNSI*, 34, 1972, pp. 1-8.
29. Govt. Museum, Madras, Acc. No. 807.

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periods one and two are represented by only a few coins. The emperors represented in Indian hoards of periods one and two are Nero[30], Hadrian, Faustina, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Commodus, Septimius Severus[31] and Antoninus Pius[32]. There are forty five coins in the collection of Indian Museum, Calcutta belonging to these periods[33]. They are recorded without findspots. The emperors known in copper coin finds recorded from India for periods three to five, *i.e.*, between AD 253 and 527[34] are Valerian I (AD 253-60); Gallienus (AD 253-68); Salonina (w/o Gallienus); Postumus (AD 259-268); Victorinus (AD 269-270); Claudius II Gothicus (AD 268-70); Aurelian (AD 270-275); Tacitus (AD 275-276) Probus (AD 276-282); Numerian (AD 283-284); Carinus (AD 283-85); Diocletian (AD 284-305); Maximianus (AD 286-308 & 310); Galerius (AD 305-311); Maximinus II (AD 309-313); Licinius II (317-324); Constantine I, (307-337); Crispus (317-326); Constantine II (AD 337-340); Constans (AD 337-350); Magnentius (AD 350-53); Valentinian I (AD 364-75); Valens (AD 364-78); Gratian (AD 367-383); Theodosius I (AD 379-395); Arcadius (AD 383-408); Honorius (AD 393-423); Theodosius II (AD 402-450); Marcian (AD 450-457); Leo I (AD 457-474); Zeno (AD 474-491); Anastasius I (AD 419-518) and Justin I (AD 518-527).

The observation of coin finds of these rulers reveals that the coins before Diocletian are mainly known from Northern and Western India. South India has coins for these periods reported from Madurai and Ooty, but they are meagre in number[35]. The coins from Theodosius II to Justin I are only known from Karur and Madurai

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30. Roer, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-152; Turner, *op.cit.*, p. 97 and, Rodgers, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

31. Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, No. 993.

32. Junagarh Museum, Acc. nos. 3-21, documented by Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies for the project, Foreign Coins found in Southern and Western India.

33. See f.n. 2 above.

34. Prinsep, *op.cit.*, pp. 398-408; *idem.*,"Roman Coins in Upper India", *JASB*, 1, p. 476; *idem.*, "On the Greek Coins in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society", *JASB*, 2,1833, pp. 36-38; Rodgers, *op.cit.*, pp. 103-105; T. Satyamurthy, "A Roman Copper coins in the collection of Art Museum Thiruvananthapuram", *SSIC*, 3, 1993, pp. 43-46; Krishnamurthy, *op.cit.*; Kasinathan, *op.cit.*; R. Sewell, "List of Roman Coins found in India", *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 591-637 and Berghaus, *op.cit.*, pp. 111.

35. Codrington, *op.cit.*, p. 31 and Govt. Museum, Madras Acc. No. 826. Purchased at Ooty.

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in Tamilnadu. The Asiatic Society of Bombay has over 100 coins, including 15 Alexandrian *Tetradrachms* covering almost all these five periods[36].

The present survey of Roman copper coins in India lacks detailed information in respect of findspots and there is a need for further investigation in this regard. Most of the coin collections in Museums were either purchased or the record is silent about the provenance. Therefore, it is difficult to have an accurate picture about the findspots of these coins.

Secondly, the study of Roman copper coins is also hampered by the fact that these coins are not in good condition and pose problems with regard to proper identification and attribution. For this reason, in Museum cabinets most of these coins are labeled as 'unclassified' and remain unattributed.

Thirdly, due to the poor condition of these pieces, scholars are seldom attracted in any enthusiastic manner to work on them. However, these coins are as important as precious metal coins for a proper understanding of Roman coin finds in India. It is well known that coins of precious metal, such as gold, can easily travel beyond their area of circulation because of their high intrinsic value. The availability of copper Roman coins in large quantity points to a systematic influx of Roman coins into India. These coins are mainly found in Tamilnadu and in Gujarat. The main period of the coins lies between AD 253 and 425.

This needs proper investigation and, as a first stage, study is essential to record the types known in Indian collections. Considering this fact, the present paper has been prepared on five Roman and six Byzantine coins from a private collection in Bombay. These coins were documented by Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies for the project Foreign coins found in southern and western India.

The details of the coins are as follows:

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36. See f.n. 12.

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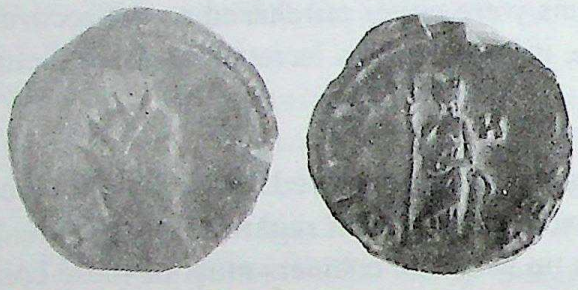
I. Roman

1. Gallienus (AD 253 to 268)

Antoninianus; 2.72 gm; 2.2 cm; die-axis 12 h; mint Rome.



Obv: GALLIENUS AVG; head radiate right.

Rev: SECVRIT PERPET; Security standing left, leaning on column, leg crossed and holding sceptre. In right field, letter H.

Ref: David R Sear, *Roman Coins and their Values*, Seaby, 1981 (3rd revised edition), p. 253.

Remarks: Edges slightly broken and letters worn out on both sides at 12 o'clock. This coin was issued in the sole reign of Gallienus (AD 260-268). The weight and size are reduced and the flan washed with silver. There are five coins known for this emperor from Indian finds. Two of them are from North India[37], one from Bombay Presidency[38], one from Kalawada-Shitala in Jamnagar district of Gujarat[39] and one from Madurai[40].

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37. Prinsep, J. 1833 *op.cit* pp. 36-38 and Rodgers, 1985, op.cit p. 103.
38. A. F. R. Hoernle, "On some new or rare Hindu and Muhammadan coins", *JASB*, 59, 1890, p. 170.
39. Berghaus, *op.cit.*, p. 111.
40. Codrington, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

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2. Diocletian (AD 284-305)

Tetradrachm, Billon, 6.99 gm; 1.8 cm; Die-axis 12 h; mint Alexandria.

Obv: AK.GO.VA DIOKLHTIANO... ; head laureate right drapery on left shoulder.

Rev: Dikaiosyne(Aequitas-Equity) standing left, holding scale and cornucopia. L | B on field. (L = year, B = 2 Greek numeral = AD 285).

Remarks: These provincial issues were not issued after AD 295 *i.e.*, after Diocletian's monetary reforms, but the provincial mints continued issuing coins of imperial types. Diocletian's imperial issues are known from many places in India. The Alexandrian *Tetradrachms* are known from a private collection in Madras and said to have been found at Karur[41], Asiatic Society of Bombay[42]. A third one was procured in Punjab and is in Lahore Museum[43] collection and a single piece each from Allahabad, Mirzapur, Bindchal and Kanauj from Northern India[44].

3. Constantine I (AD 317)

Follis, 2.82 gm; 1.85 cm; die axis 6 h; mint Aquileia.

Obv: IMP CONSTANTINUS PF AVG; bust laureate cuirassed right.

41. Kind information from Shri R. Krishnamurthy.
42. Unpublished.
43. Rodgers, 1895, *op.cit.*, p. 104.
44. Prinsep, 1832, *op.cit.*, pp. 392-408 and 1832a, *op.cit.*, pp. 476.

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Rev: SOLIINVICTO COMITI AQP; Sol standing left, raising right hand and holding glove in left; Chalmys across left shoulder, flying under left arm.

Ref: *RIC*, VII, p. 393, no. 5.

Remarks: A good number of coins are known from Tamilnadu for this emperor.

4. Constantine I I (AD 335)

Follis, 1.79 gm; 1.6 cm; die-axis 12 h; mint Antioch.

Obv: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C; bust rosette-diadem, draped, cuirassed right.

Rev: GLORIA EXERC ITVS SMAN B; two soldiers standing, facing one another, each holding reversed spear and resting hand on shield set on ground; between them, two standards.

Ref: RIC, VII, p. 693, no. 86.

Remarks: This coin was wrongly attributed by Peter Berghaus to Constantius II[45]. Many coins are known in India for this emperor.

5. Constans (AD 336-37)

Follis, 1.65 gm; 1.5 cm; die axis 6 h; mint Constantinople.

45. Berghaus, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

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Obv: (FLCONSTAN)S NOB CAES; bust laureate, draped, cuirassed left.

Rev: GLORIA EXERC ITVS CONS IA; two helmeted soldiers, standing facing one another with reversed spear in outer hands and inner hands on shields resting on ground; between them, one standard only.

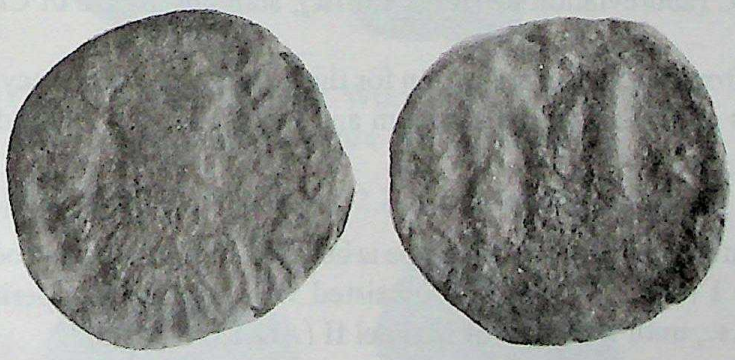
Ref: RIC, VII, p. 589, no. 140.

Remarks: This coin was also wrongly attributed by Berghaus to Constantius II[46]. Many coins are known in India for this emperor but this is a rare coin since the workshop IA is not found on many coins.

II . Byzantine[47]

1. Anastasius I (after AD 498)

40 *Nummia*, 12.84 gm; 2.9 x 2.6 cm; die axis 7 h; mint Constantinople.



Obv: DN ANASTASIVS PP AVG; bust draped, cuirassed right.

Rev: CONOB(?).

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45. Berghaus, *op.cit.*, p. 111.
46. *Ibid.*
47. I.C.G. Cambeal, and R. R. Kutcher, "An Introduction to Byzantine Coinage", *Numismatic International*, March, 1985 to December 1991 nos. 1-74 and John, F. Lhotka, "Introduction to East Roman coinage", *The Numismatic* (reprint), American Numismatic Association.

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Remarks: A few coins are in the collection of Asiatic Society of Bombay and Govt. Museum Madras. They remain unpublished.

2. Constantine X (AD 1059-1067)

Anonymous, *Follis*, 7.43 gm; 3.0 cm; die axis 6 h.

Obv: Standing figures of the emperor and empress, holding between them a labarum.

Rev: IC XC (abbreviation for Jesus Christ); standing figure of Christ.

No coin is recorded from any Indian collection for this emperor but some scyphate coins in gold for this period are in the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda.

3. Scyphate coins

There are four scyphate coins. The scyphate type is believed to have been introduced in the reign of Issac I (AD 1057-59) and persisted well into the last period of Byzantine coinage, *i.e.*, until the reign of Manuel II (AD 1391-1423).

The general characteristic features of these four coins are as follows:

1. Irregular cup shape;
2. The dies are smaller than the flans;
3. The edge has cracks; and
4. The legend on these coins are not legible, and therefore given without date and the emperor's name.

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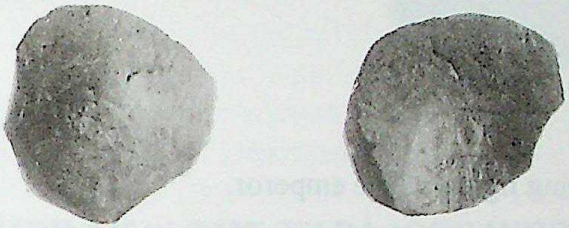
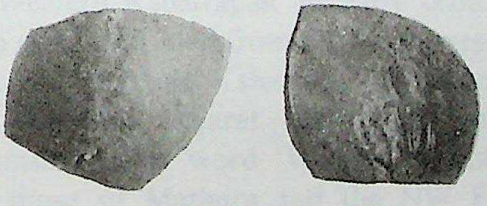
A tentative period has been suggested for these coins. This type of scyphate coin in copper is being published here for the first time in an Indian collection. Gold coins are in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery[48].

3. i) Small copper; 1.48 gm; 2 x 1.8 cm; die axis 6 h.



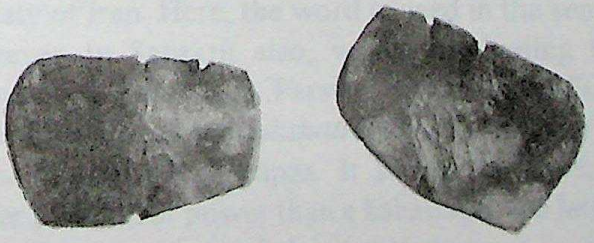
Obv: Bust of Christ. Worn out.
Rev: Half-length figure of the emperor.

3. ii) Small copper; 1.38 gm; 2.1 x 1.7 cm; die axis 6 h.



Obv: Bust of Christ. Worn out.
Rev: Half-length figure of the emperor.

3. iii) Small copper; 1.18 gm; 2.2 x 1.4 cm; die axix 6 h.



Obv: Bust of Christ.
Rev: Two figures standing full-length.

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48. Mankad, *op.cit* p. 438.

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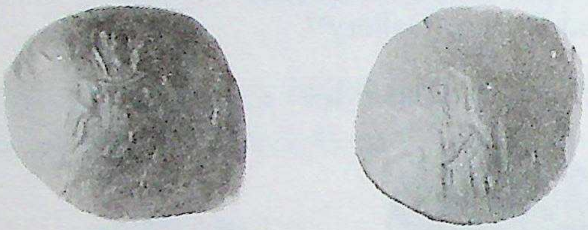
3. iv) Small copper; 0.84 gm; 2.0 x 1.75 cm.



Obv: Bust of Christ.
Rev: Half-length standing figure of the emperor.

In conclusion, these Roman copper coin finds from India imply that there was an international trade between East and West. One can question whether these copper coins formed the basis of trade, or whether they were only the small changes of traders. Such coins do not show the medium used for major trade transactions (coin ? barter ?).

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13

ABHERAKA: THE EARLIEST WESTERN KSHATRAPA

Dilip Rajgor

Introduction

The Western Kshatrapas, of early centuries of the Christian era, had a Saka origin and descended from the north-west from their homelands in Central Asia. The term 'Western Kshatrapa' is applied to the Kshatrapa rulers of western India, including Gujarat, Malwa, and some provinces of Rajasthan as well as Maharashtra. The word 'Western' is used to distinguish this group of rulers from those of Mathura and the NW Frontiers. 'Kshatrapa' is said to be a Sanskritised form of the old Persian *Xsacapavan* (Skt. *Kshatrapavan*), meaning "protector of the land", and is believed to have come into India with the influx of the Scythians and the Parthians[1]. The earliest occurrence of the word *Kshatrapavan* is in the Behistun inscription No. 3 of the Darius of the Hakhamani dynasty of Iran. Here, the word is used in the sense of a "viceroy of a province"[2]. However, in Sanskrit also, words originating from *Kshatra* denote the same meaning as that of its Persian counterpart. Furthermore, in India we find a higher title, called *Mahakshatrapa*, with the title *Rajan* on coins and inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas. It seems that a mahakshatrapa used to occupy a higher position of power than a kshatrapa; the latter, however, was a subordinate, but still independent of the mahakshatrapa.

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1. E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty, and the Bodhi Dynasty in the British Museum*, London, 1908, pp. c-ci.
2. Rajesh Jamindar, *Kshatrapa Kalnun Gujarat* (Gujarati), Ahmedabad, 1978, p. 17.

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History

The dynasty of the Western Kshatrapas consisted of six different families. The first family among these was known as the Kshaharata family. Although the original home-town of the Kshaharatas is not known, it appears that like Cuksa of the Taxila copper plate of Patika, Chaharata or Kshaharata was also the name of a locality or division in the vicinity of Taxila[3].

Only two members of the Kshaharata family, *viz.*, Bhumaka and Nahapana, were known for quite a long time. However now, on the numismatic grounds, a new member of the Kshaharata family has come to light who seems to be the earliest known member of this family. His name is variously deciphered on his copper coins as Aghudaka, son of Iyana; Aghudaka Iyana; Abhedaka, and Abhiraka. The following pages deal with the coins of this ruler who has now been identified as Abheraka.

The first coin of Abheraka was published by Altekar in 1950[4]. Altekar read the name as *A*(*na* or *ta*), and identified the issuer with Arta, the father of Kshatrapa Kharaosta. His reading was, however, not accepted. Now, with the discovery of more coins, the full legend can be restored as *kshaharatasa kshatrapasa abherakasa dayatasa*. These coins are of two types:

a. with Nike;
b. with thunderbolt.

Obverse of the first type is inscribed in Greek while the reverse contains a lion and wheel standard with a Brahmi legend. The lion pillar connects his coins with those of Bhumaka; and the representation of Nike would suggest that he was a predecessor of Bhumaka.

When, and for how long, Abheraka ruled can not be accurately pointed out. It is, however, possible that he reigned in the first half of the first century AD. He

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3. A. S. Altekar, *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, History*, pt. i, *Ancient Period*, Bombay, 1967, p. 145, fn 1.
4. *Idem*, " A Kshaharata (?) Copper Coin", *JNSI*, 12, i, 1950, pp. 5-7.

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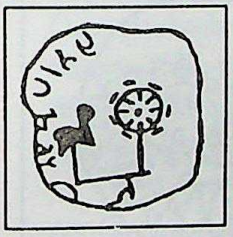
has used the title *Kshatrapa*, and the absence of title *Rajan* suggests that he was a Kshatrapa with superior powers, but nothing can be said regarding the identity of his overlord at the present state of our knowledge.

Coinage

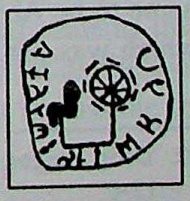
Only the Nike type coin of Abheraka, is published so far[5]. Although Altekar published a coin of Abheraka as early as 1950 as mentioned above, it was Mitchiner who, for the first time, read the complete legend and rightly placed the issuer of the coins in the Kshaharata family as the predecessor of Bhumaka[6].

Mitchiner has illustrated three coins, two of which were already published, the first by Altekar and the second by Trivedi. The provenance of Altekar's coin[7] is not recorded, but the sources from which the coin was acquired leave no doubt that it was found in Saurashtra.



On the coin, Altekar reads the fragmentary legend *tasa a*(?)*haratasas*(?) *na*(?). He restors the legend as *kshahapatasa aharatasa* followed by a letter which he proposes to read as *na* or *ta*. He tentatively suggests the issuer's name as Arta who, from other sources, is known as the father of Kshatrapa Kharaosta[8].

Trivedi's coin is of the same type and from the collection of Muniraja Shri Vidyavijaya[9]. It was reportedly acquired from Amreli or Bhavnagar or from Junagadh. He deciphers the legend as (XI to III-IV) *kshaharatasa* (VI-XI) traces of *kshatrapasa atasa*. He, too, attributes the coin to Arta[10].



In 1976, Mitchiner published the third coin, from the Senior collection, on which he restors the legend as *kshatrapasa aghudakasa iyanaputra* (*kha*)*haratasa*, and attributes the coin to Aghudaka, son of Iyana, the Kshaharata Kshatrapa[11].

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5. Michael Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9, London, 1976, no. 1249.
6. *Ibid.*
9. H. V. Trivedi, "Notes on Some Western Kshatrapa Coins", *JNSI*, 17, ii, 1955, pp. 89-90.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Mitchiner, *op cit.*

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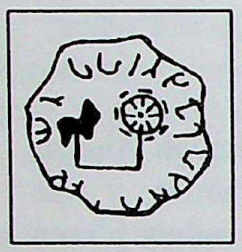
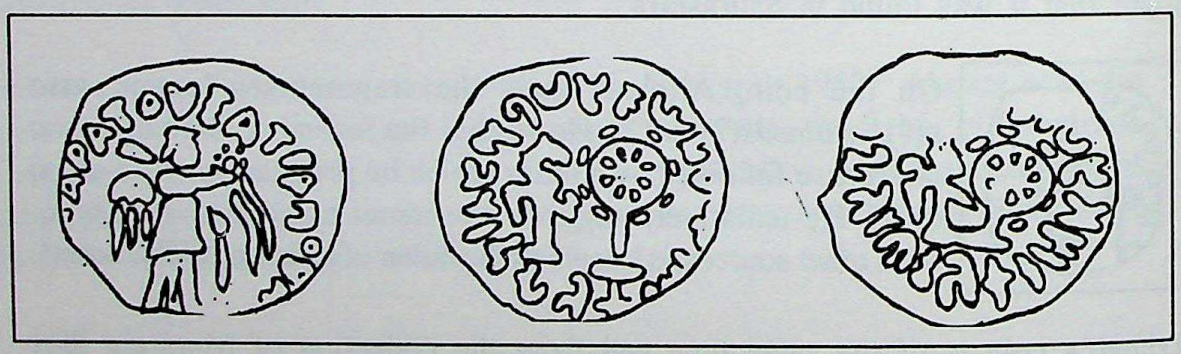
In 1989, the present author published the fourth coin from the Kachchh district which, to the best of his knowledge, was found from the Rapar taluka[12]. The



legend on this coin was read as *(ksha)haratasa kshatrapasa__sa__yana*, and this was reconstructed, with the help of Mitchiner's coin, as *kshaharatasa kshatrapasa aghu*(or *gu)dakasa iyanasa*[13]. The legend on Mitchiner's coin was also discussed in detail and, in refuting the reading *aghudakasa iyanaputra*, the author was of the opinion that one "may not be sure about the correctness of the issuer name Aghu(gu)daka Iyana; yet it may be tentatively accepted. As such, the second part of the name *Iyana* with the genitive suffix *sa* would mean either that Aghu(gu)daka was resident of a placed called Iyana or Iyana was the name of his father"[14]. However, with the subsequent discovery of more coins, something may be added about the name of the issuer.



In 1993, Senior published a new coin which gave a clearly perceptible reading[15]. The new coin was found along with a broken one of Bhumaka from a site called Ed-Dur, in Umm al-Qaiwan in the United Arab Emirates. Senior suggests the name to be Abhirakasa. For the first time, he read the word *iyanasa* as *jayatasa*, which was placed on his coin before the name of the issuer[16].

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12. Dilip Rajgor, "Coin of an Unknown Kshaharata Kshatrapa", *ND*, 12-13, 1988-89, pp. 12-6.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
14. *Ibid.*
15. R. C. Senior, "Aghudaka? A New Discovery Gives a Clearer Reading", *Numismatic Studies*, 3, 1993, pp. 35-8.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7.

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Finally, in 1994, Jha and Rajgor[17] discussed the possibilty that "the letter which has been read as *ghu* or *gu* may be *bhe*" and the name could be Abhedaka.

Now, however, we feel that the next letter seems more probably a *ra* than a *da*. A careful look at the Mitchiner's piece reveals that what was seen as two vertical strokes is, in fact, a crude form of *da*. The letter *da* is even more clear on the coins illustrated below in the catalogue. The character *da* is followed by *ya* and *ta*. The word is completed by a peculiar form of *sa* which is retrograde. Thus, the complete legend on the coins can be read as *kshaharatasa kshatrapasa abherakasa dayatasa*.

Senior reads the last word *dayatasa* as *jayatasa*, which means 'victorious' (from *jaya* = victory) and saw it as a title or personal name[18]. However, that the character is *da* and not *ja* can be concluded from two evidences. Firstly, the character is seen on the coins of Damajadashri I and Damaghsada as *da* in *Damajadashriya* and *Damaghsadasa*. Secondly, the Kharoshthi legend on the thunderbolt type coin of Abheraka (no. 8 below) gives a conclusive picture of the legend. It clearly reads from XII to VII __*abharakasa daya*__. This evidently corroborates with the Brahmi legend *abherakasa dayatasa*.

As far as the names Abheraka and Dayata are concerned, we unable to say anything definite in the absence of evidence. But it is probable that the word *Abherakasa* is Prakritised form of Sanskrit *Abhirakasya*, *i.e.*, of the Abhira tribe. In this connection, it should be stated that majority of the finds of these coins are from Kachchh, one of the ancient names of which is Abhira. It is possible, therefore, that the issuer of these coins was a member of the Abhira tribe of Kachchh. It should also be noted that the meaning of this word remains unaltered even when it occurs before or after the word *dayata*[19]. As far as the word *dayata* or *dayata* is concerned, its meaning cannot be traced. It is possible that the word is derived from the Sanskrit *dayita* meaning 'dear'.

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17. Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor, *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Ksatrapas*, Nasik, 1994, p. 18, fn 29.
18. Senior, *op.cit.*, p. 37.
19. I am thankful to Shri Girish Jani, Assistant Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, for sharing this information with me.

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We now come to the discussion *per se* on the copper coins of Abheraka.

Nike type

On the obverse of thse coins is a winged Nike standing to right and holding a wreath, with circular inscription in Greek beginning with SATRAPOU. On the reverse, a lion-wheel standard is placed in the centre with a Brahmi legend around (nos. 1-4).

The obverse motif of Nike on these coins reminds us of the same motif appearing on the Indo-Greek[20], Indo-Scythian[21] and Indo-Parthian coins. The relation of this motif with Kshaharata family, however, cannot be ascertained. At the same time, there appears to be a clear linkage between the Nike type and the thunderbolt type discussed below, for, the thunderbolt, shield and spear are well-known attributs of Nike; therefore, it may be suggested that Abheraka depicted the deity only by her attributes on his later coins. This was, probably, also done to popularize his currency by depicting the thunderbolt on his coins, for, the thunderbolt is also an attribute of the Hindu God Indra.

Thunderbolt type

The second category of the coins of Abheraka consists of a thunderbolt device instead of Nike on the obverse. The category can further be divided into three types:

1. With Brahmi legend on obverse (no. 5)
2. With Kharoshthi legend on obverse (nos. 6-10) and
3. Restruck issues (nos. 11-13)

1. *With Brahmi legend on obverse*

On the obverse of this type, the Greek legend is replaced by one in Brahmi. It seems that this Brahmi legend was short, as from II to VII it reads, *abherakasa dayatasa*. The letters are quite large and leave a small margin to accommodate *kshaharatasa kshatrapasa*. Traces of Kharoshthi letters appear from VII to XII.

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20. P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, pl. XI.13.

21. Mitchiner, *op.cit.*, nos. 699, 700, 729-30, 737-38, *etc.*

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The reverse of this type is usual, with lion-wheel capital and Brahmi legend (no. 5).

2. *With Kharoshthi legend on obverse*

Obverse has a Kharoshthi, instead of a Brahmi, legend, which reads, *kshaharadasa kshatrapasa abharakasa dayatasa*. This type is known to have been issued in three denominations (nos. 6-10).

Rapson has published a strange coin which he attributes to Bhumaka[23]. On the obverse of this coin (no. 9), he reads the Kharoshthi legend as *__ta__ bhumakasa*, but the photograph of the coin is indistinct and can hardly be deciphered. On the reverse of the coin, he sees only uncertain characters but, from the photograph, the legend could be *__trapasa* (*Ja* ?)__. The coin is tentatively attributed by us to Abheraka.

3. *Restruck issues*

The author had earlier published a coin of Abheraka which was restruck by the thunderbolt device[24]. It was thought that the restriker was Bhumaka (no. 11). But now, with the discovery of thunderbolt type coins of Abheraka, the restriker seems more likely to be Abheraka himself. It is also seen from the presence of a correct Kharoshthi legend. The restriking of the Nike type by the thunderbolt type by the same ruler was done, probably, to put back the older coins into circulation with new devices. Another variety of the same restruck type is also published below (no. 12).

There is another restruck coin (no. 13), which is a circular coin of Apollodotus II. The original obverse of the Apollodotus coin is counterstruck with Nike/ lion-wheel device of Abheraka. Again, this was probably done with a view to reminting the currency of another dynasty. It is important to note that during the time of Abheraka, the copper coins of Apollodotus II were in circulation, and this makes the restricking a distinct possibility[25].

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22. *Ibid.*, nos. 1080-1085, 1087, *etc.*
23. Rapson, *op.cit.*, no. 239.
24. Rajgor, *Numismatic Studies*, 1, 1991, pp. 33-34.
25. My sincere thanks are due to Lance Dane, Shailendra Bhandare, Haresh Gala, Anandji Mota, and Dr. K. B. Parekh for permitting me to study and publish their valuable coins.

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Provenance

As far as the provenance of the coins of Abheraka is concerned, the Nike type is reported from Junagadh, Kachchh, Qandhar and the UAE. However, it is evident that the Nike and thunderbolt type coins are chiefly reported from the Kachchh district of Gujarat state. Could it be suggested, therefore, that Kachchh was a gateway of India for the Kshaharatas ?

Thunderbolt Coins of Abheraka Versus those of Bhumaka

Earlier, in the absence of the thunderbolt type coins of Abheraka, all coins of that type were attributed to Bhumaka. However, now with the discovery of the coins of Abheraka of this type, one can attempt to spot the diffrences in the coinage of these two rulers. The main differences are as follows:

1. On the coins of Abheraka, Kharoshthi legend is well executed and often much of the legend is seen. The coins of Bhumaka, on the other hand, display crude Kharoshthi letters and the characters are quite large and are spaciously arranged. This was done, probably, because there were no die-engravers having the knowledge of Kharoshthi. Further, this legend is not fully deciphered on any coin of Bhumaka. Although the placement of the legend reveals that there were possibly some more letters after *chaharatasa chatrapasa* (*bhumakasa*), no one has been able to decipher the words after *chatrapasa*. Thus the Kharoshthi legend on Bhumaka's coins was used more as an ornamental border, and made rudimentary. This naturally left more space for the thunderbolt motif which appears quite prominent.

2. The Brahmi legend on the coins of Abheraka is well executed but that on the coins of Bhumaka is spread out and the characters are also very large.

3. The Brahmi letter *sa* on the coins of Abheraka is invariably retrograde, while that on the coins of Bhumaka is engraved correctly, and

4. The lion-wheel capital on the coins of Abheraka is engraved in a finer way. On the coins of Bhumaka, however, it is crude and the wheel is not seen with the circumferential border of dashes.

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Catalogue of Coins

Coin Types

I. *Nike type*

a) Br. 𐨐𐨪𐨁𐨫𐨪 𐨐𐨪𐨟𐨿𐨪 𐨀𐨪𐨁𐨤𐨪 𐨣𐨯𐨫𐨪
Kshaharatasa Kshatrapasa Abherakasa Dayatasa (nos. 1-3)

b) Br. 𐨐𐨪𐨁𐨫𐨪 𐨐𐨪𐨟𐨿𐨪 𐨣𐨯[𐨫𐨪 𐨀𐨪𐨡𐨤𐨪
Kshaharatasa Kshatrapasa Daya(tasa Abhera)kasa (no. 4)

II. *Thunderbolt type*
a) W/Brahmi (no. 5)
b) W/Kharoshthi (nos. 6-10)

Br. As no. Ia.

Kh. 𐨯𐨪𐨁𐨫𐨪 𐨯𐨪𐨁𐨪𐨟 𐨯𐨪𐨁𐨪𐨟𐨪𐨐 𐨯𐨪𐨁𐨪𐨟𐨪𐨐𐨪𐨁𐨪
Kshaharadasa Kshatrapasa Abharakasa Dayatasa

III. *Restruck Issues* (nos. 11-13).

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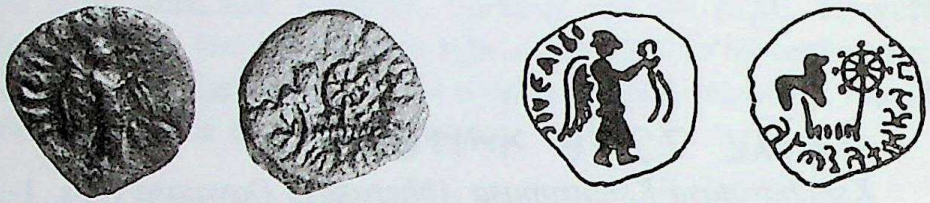
1. Copper, 4.9 gm, 20 mm, from Junagadh.



Obv: Nike standing to right, holding wreath in both the hands; fragmentary Greek legend around.

Rev: A pillar with lion capital to left; a pillar with wheel on the top to right; Brahmi legend, *I__trapasa abherakasa dayatasa*.

Weights of other coins: 4.9 gm.

References: Altekar, *JNSI*, 22, 1950, pp. 5-7; Trivedi, *JNSI*, 17, 1955, pp. 89-90; Mitchiner, *IGIS*, p. 823; Rajgor, *ND*, 12-13, 1988-89, pp. 12-6; Senior, *Numismatic Studies*, 3, pp. 35-38.

2. Copper, 7.1 gm, 21 mm, from Rapar, dist. Kachchh.

Obv: Same as no. 1.

Rev: Same as no. 1 but the legend reads (XII) *__kshatrapasa abherakasa*.

Weights of other coins: Saurashtra 7.2 gm; Amreli or Bhavnagar or Junagadh 6.3 gm; Rapar 6.7, 7 and 8.4 gm.

References: Same as in no. 1.

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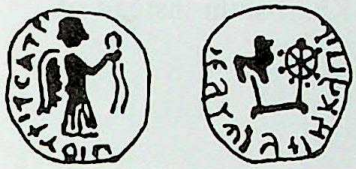
3. Copper, 6.6 gm, 18 mm, from Qandhar, Afghanistan.



Obv: Same as no. 1.

Rev: Same as no. 1 but the legend reads (X) *ksha__kshatrapasa abherakasa dayatasa.*

Reference: Mitchiner, *op. cit.*, no. 1249, p. 823.

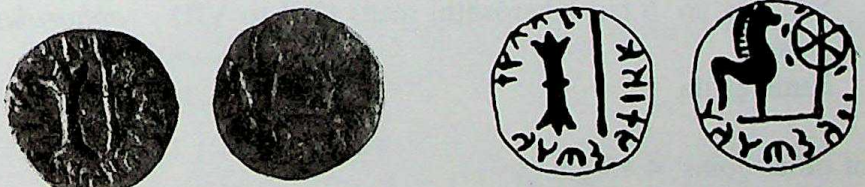
4. Copper, wt. ? From Umm al-Qaiwan, U.A.E.

Obv: Same, as no. 1 but the Greek legend reads __APATOY EATPATTPOYA__

Rev: Same as no. 1 but Brahmi legend, (VII) *kshaharatasa kshatrapasa dayatasa a(bhera)kasa.*

Reference: Senior, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

5. Copper, 4.8 gm, 22 mm, from Rapar.



Obv: A thunderbolt and an arrow in the centre, Brahmi legend around, (II to VII) __ *kshatrapasa abherakasa dayatasa.*
Traces of Kharoshthi between VII and XII.

Rev: Same as no. 1 but Brahmi, (V) __*sa dayatasa ksha.*

Weights of other coins: 3.3 and 4 gm.

Reference: Unpublished.

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6. Copper, 2.1 gm, 16 mm.

Obv: Same as no. 5 but with the traces of Kharoshthi instead of Brahmi.

Rev: Same as no. 1.

Reference: Unpublished.

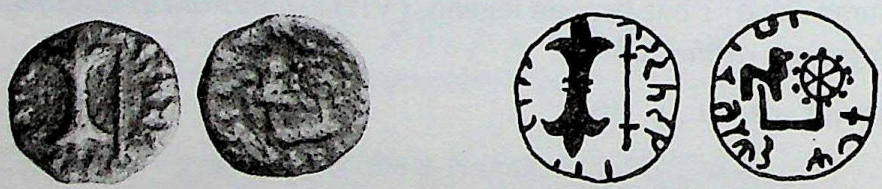
7. Copper, 2.9 gm (broken coin), 19 mm, from Junagadh.

Obv: Same as no. 6.

Rev: Same as no. 1

Reference: Unpublished; *cf.*, of Rapson, *BMCAWK*, no. 237.

8. Copper, 3.9 gm, 19 mm, from Junagadh.



Obv: Same as no. 6 but Kharoshthi reads (XII to VII) __*abharakasa daya*.

Rev: Same as no. 1.

Weights of other coins: 4.45 gm.

Reference: Unpublished.

9. Copper, 4.66 gm, 19 mm, from Pushkar near Ajmer.

Obv: Same as no. 6.

Rev: Same as no. 1.

Reference: Rapson, *op.cit.*, no. 239.

Remarks: Rapson reads Kharoshthi on the obverse, but nothing is clear on the photograph. The attribution is tentative.

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10. Copper, 5.9 gm, 20 mm, from Saurashtra.

Obv: Same as no. 6. Kharoshthi reads (XII) *kshaharadasa kshatra_ tasa.*

Rev: Same as no. 1.

Weights of other coins: 5.2 gm.

Reference: Rapson, *op.cit.*, no. 237.

Remarks: Rapson has published his coin as of Bhumaka, but in the light of clear specimens of this type, such coins should be correctly attributed to Abheraka.

11. Copper, 5.6 gm, from Rapar.

Obv: Original Nike type (of no. 1) restruck by the thunderbolt devise of the same king. Kharoshthi reads (X) *kshaharadasa ksha __ yatasa.*

Rev: Original obverse of the Nike type restruck by the lion- capital side of the thunderbolt type.

Reference: Rajgor, *Numismatic Studies*, 1, 1991, pp. 33-34.

12. Copper, 7.25 gm, 25 mm, from Saurashtra.

Obv: A thunderbolt and an arrow, between the two a pellet. Kharoshthi legend around, traces of Nike near the arrow.

Rev: Same as no. 1, but the legend in Brahmi is not decipherable. Traces of a wheel-pillar visible above the wheel pillar of the new die.

Reference: Unpublished.

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13. Copper, 9.2 gm, 29 mm, from Rapar.

Obv: Original obverse of a coin of Apollodotus II counterstruck by the wheel devise of the lion-capital motif on the Nike device of Abheraka.

Rev: Reverse of the Apollodotus coin. No traces of counterstriking.

Remarks: In the absence of any inscription on the counterstruck devise, and the similarity between the wheel standards and the Nike device, the counterstriker is presumed to be Abheraka.

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14

A NEW WESTERN KSHATRAPA IDENTIFIED ?

R. C. Senior

In the *Oriental Numismatic Society* (*ONS*) *Newsletter* 136 for 1993, I published a new coin which I thought must be of Chastana. In the *ONS Newsletter* 129 in 1991 I also illustrated a countermarked coin of Soter Megas which bore the inscription *Swami Damaghsadasa* and which I used to support an early date for the Western Kshatrapas.

I am in the process of finishing a comprehensive catalogue of the coins of the Indo-Scythians, which also includes the coinage of the Western Kshatrapas, and while cataloguing the latter have had cause to think again about the attribution of some of the coins including the above two.

The founder of the line of the so-called 'Western Kshatrapas' is Chastana, son of Ghsamotika. He struck silver *drachms* as well as base metal coins with both Kshatrapa and Mahakshatrapa titles. Among the base metal coins have always been included 'copper' coins bearing the design of a horse before a standard on the obverse and a three-arched mountain symbol with legend around on the reverse (Plate coin nos. 1-3). To date not a single specimen has been found bearing his actual name, but they have been attributed to him on account of the possibility that they bear the patronymic *Ghsamotikaputrasa*. On coin no. 1, *Rajño Mahakshatra_* can be read, but I know of no clearer reading of the rest of the legend.

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The above mentioned *ONS* article publishing a new type of Chastana shows a coin of the same type, although it is round (Plate coin no. 4) and of a different metal (billon ?). The surface of the metal has partly flaked off, making a complete reading impossible. However, the obverse bears a very well executed Kharosthi legend, *Rano Mahachatrapasa.....* The next word possibly begins with *Jaya* (*tasa ?*). On the reverse, I read quite clearly, *Rajño (Mahakshatra)pasa Ghsamotikaputrasa....* Knowing that his son was Chastana, I assumed that somehow the last visible letters must be this name even though they did not conform to what one would except. In fact, after *Ghsamotikaputrasa*, there seems to be *Swami*, a title used only by Chastana's son, Jayadaman, on coins (at least until a time some 200 years later when it was used by Rudrasena III). The legend is as below;

The last four letters were a puzzle until I saw the coin no. 1062 in Jha and Rajgor's new work *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Ksatrapas* published by Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nashik (Plate coin no. 5). This is a coin of the same type as the 'Chastana' coins, but clearly reading (*Da*)*maghsadasa*. This is what the last four characters on the above (coin no. 4) 'Chastana' coin also read !

The coins of Chastana and his son Jayadaman exhibit both Brahmi and Kharosthi legends, but those of Rudradaman and his successors only have Brahmi letters. Certainly, no one as late as the published Damaghsada, great grandson of Chastana, used Kharosthi. The Kharosthi on coin no. 4 is extremely well written. Already by the time of Chastana, it is becoming blundered and seemingly so on the coins of Jayadaman too.

There is not enough room on the coin for it to be a pedigree coin listing additionally Chastana, Jayadaman and Rudradaman, and one is left with the conclusion that Ghsamotika had another son called Damaghsada.

The attribution of the Jha and Rajgor coin to the later Damaghsada is very doubtful because the type with horse before standard is early linked with the use of Kharosthi and the name Ghsamotika. Rudradaman uses a different horse type,

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without standard. A bull before standard copper may be attributed to him however. His successors ceased using such copper coins. The square coppers with facing bull that have been attributed to Damaghsada, none of which are known with the ruler's name, will prove, I believe, to be of Rudradaman.

There is more evidence for this early Damaghsada in the countermarked coins (Plate coin no. 6)[1] which bear the title *Swami*. I think that this gives a close chronological link to the coppers of Jayadaman bearing the title *Swami Jayadamasa*. The overstriking was done very carefully so as not to deface the portrait of Soter Megas, implying that he was still ruling at the time of countermarking. This places the coin in the third quarter of the first century AD. Unless one accepts the early dating of the Western Kshatrapas, *i.e.*, in the Vikrama rather than the Saka era, it would make the later Damaghsada an improbable issuer of the countermark. However, it would be probable, not just possible, if one places this new Damaghsada in the first century AD. One reason for my wishing to place the Western Kshatrapas so early was this countermarked coin and now I may have to revise such an early date[2].

What we have then is a series of coins in copper and billon which have as their type a horse standing right before a be-ribboned spear standard on the obverse, and a three (or six on billon) arched mountain symbol with sun to right and crescent to left on the reverse. On the obverse can be a debased Greek (BM coin, Plate coin no. 8), or Kharosthi (Plate coin no. 9), or Brahmi (Plate coin no. 10) legend and on the reverse a Brahmi legend giving the ruler the title of Mahakshatrapa (Plate coin nos. 11 and 12).

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1. See also *Numismatic Studies*, 1, Plate 1, no. 3.
2. A casket has recently surfaced which is dated in year 98 of the Great Maharaja Azes (AD 40), and it mentions Abdagases, nephew of Gondophares, as well as Aspavarma, son of Indravarma. It reinforces my suggestion that Gondophares I did not rule from AD 19-45 and that Takht-i-Bahi inscription is either not dated in the Vikrama era or refers to some other ruler with the title (most likely the former). We have coins of Nahapana, Chastana's contemporary or predecessor, overstruck by Sases who is a contemporary of Aspavarma. The suggestion is that Nahapana / Sases / Aspavarma must be *c.* AD 40, and therefore Chastana should be dated after that. It hardly seems possible that Damaghsada, Chastana's great grandson, could be so early. However, a brother of Chastana with the same name could be more likely, and a contemporary of Soter Megas.

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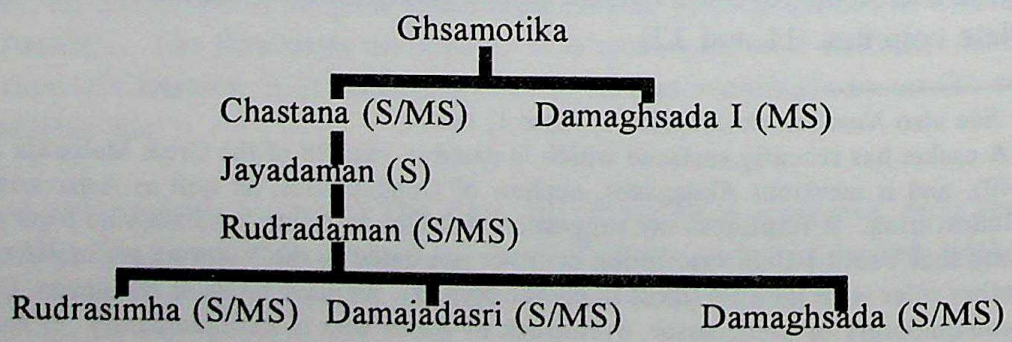
There has never been any ***concrete*** evidence that the Kshatrapas were subordinate to the Kushanas, but the countermarking of the coins of Soter Megas is at least of temporary influence in that direction. Further evidence for Kshatrapa subordination at this period is evidenced in another coin in my collection (Plate coin no. 7) which is of Sotel Megas and carefully countermarked on the neck by the three-arched mountain symbol. We have no silver coins that can be attributed to this Damaghsada, but then until recently we also had none for his 'nephew' Jayadaman. Possibly, the lack of silver, and the scarcity of the copper, coins of these two rulers was due to the strength of the Kushanas. Rudradaman boasts of having made himself Raja (implying that he was subordinate to no one) and strikes a copious coinage in silver and copper as well as carrying out many good works. This would imply that after a period of weakness following Chastana, during which the Kushans imposed some control over the Western Kshatrapas, they regained their independence under Rudradaman. I would place the coins of this new Damaghsada before those of Jayadaman because brothers often succeeded before sons. It would also explain why Jayadaman was only a Kshatrapa, because his uncle was the Mahakshatrapa at the time. The use of good style Kharosthi as well as of fairly good Greek (on the British Museum coin) would also indicate such an early date, as well as the use of billon and heavier and larger coins than either of his successors. The family tree would look like the following if this Damaghsada actually exists. In my catalogue I have listed his coinage as below.



S = Kshatrapa, MS = Mahakshatrapa

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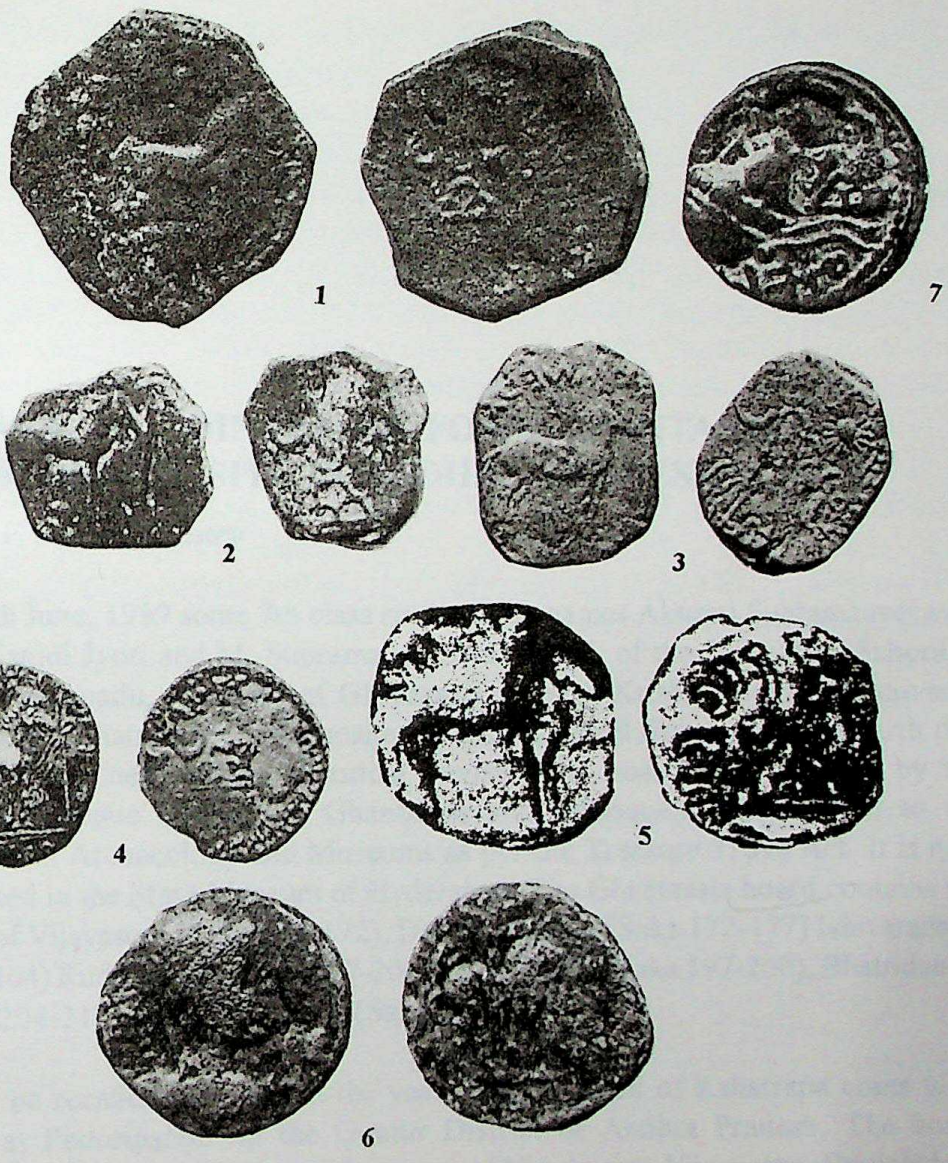

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15

KSHATRAPA COIN HOARD FORM GHANTASALA, A HISTORICAL SITE IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Dr. V. V. Krishna Sastry

On 16th June, 1989 some 7th class students, by names Akurati Subramanyeswara Rao, Nagidi Jyoti and M. Subramanya Siva Prasad, of the Z. P. High School of Yerri-nimmapadu, a suburb of Ghantasala town in Krishna district, discovered a hoard of Kshatrapa coins deposited in a conch shell from out of the earth dug out from the neighboring historical mound. The hoard was acquired by the Mandal Revenue Officer[1] of Ghantasala and subsequently transferred to the Director of Archaeology and Museums as per the Treasure Trove Act. It is now deposited in the State Museum of Hyderabad. The Ghantasala hoard contains the issues of Vijayasena (Saka 162-172), Damajadasri III (Saka 172-177) Ishwaradatta (Saka 164) Rudrasena II (Saka 177-200) Vishvasimha (Saka 197-200), Bhatridaman (Saka 204-217) and Vishvasena (Saka 214-226).

It may be recalled here that in the year 1959, a hoard of Kshatrapa coins were found at Petluripalem[2] in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh. The hoard contained 235 coins. They were the issues of Viradaman. Vijayasena, Damajadasri III, Rudrasena II, Vishwasimha, Bhartridaman, Vishwasena, Rudrasimha II and

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1. Information from Director of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of A. P. as per file R. C. No. 5596/89 dated 18.7.89.
2. H. V. Trivedi, *Western Kshatrapa coins in Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, 1964 (henceforth Trivedi, 1964), p. VI.

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Yosadaman II. Interestingly the Petluripalem hoard also included a solitary coin of Iswaradatta, the supposed Abhira king. Thus the Petluripalem hoard of coins spans over a longer period of the Kshatrapa issues than that of Ghantasala.

The excavations at Kondapur[3], in Medak district yielded coins of the Damajadasri II (son of Rudradaman), Damajadasri III (son of Rudrasena), and Vishvasimha (son of Rudrasena II). Kondapur is one of the extensive early historical sites in Deccan. A modest excavation conducted at the historical site revealed, besides the above Kshatrapa coins, many religious and secular structures such as a Buddhist stupa, *chaityas*, congregation halls *etc*.

A coin of Rudrasena II was reported from Phanigiri[4], another important Buddhist site situated over the top of a flat hill in Nalgonda district.

At Vadamanu[5] in Guntur district, two terracotta moulds of Kshatrapa coins were found in the excavations. One of them, on the basis of the portrait, is believed to be that of Yasodaman or Vijayasena (Saka 160). It appears that the Kshatrapa coins were as popular as the Roman issues in coastal Andhra and that they were counterfeited to be used as pendants.

The Kshatrapa connection with Andhra during the Satavahana times

Several *Puranas* mention Sivasri as the successor of Vasithiputa Pulumavi. He was identified with Vasithiputa Sivasri Pulumavi, whose coins were noticed at several places in Andhra Pradesh. According to the Girnar inscription[6] Rudradaman I is said to have defeated Satakarni who was not distantly related to him. Rapson identifies Satakarni[7] of the Girnar inscription with Vasithiputa Sri Satakarni of the Kanheri inscription who was the son-in-law of Rudradaman. Gopalachary[8] suggests that Sivasri Pulumavi might be the son-in-law of Rudradaman I and Satakarni,

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3. H.V. Trivedi, *Saka Kshatrapa and Traikutaka coins from Excavations in Hyderabad State*, Numismatic Series No. 9, Hyderabad Museum (henceforth Trivedi, 1953).
4. *Ibid.*
5. T. V. G. Sastry *et. al*, *Vaddamanu Excavations*, Hyderabad, 1992, p. 210.
6. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 1942, 1, p. 175.
7. E. J. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, The Western Kshatrapa etc.* 1908, p. XXXVIII.
8. K. Gopalachary, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, 1994 (Reprint 1976), pp. 71-72.

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twice defeated by Rudradaman, was Sri Satakarni, one more brother of Pulumavi whose coins are noticed at a large number of places. Inspite of matrimonial relationship with the later Satavahanas probably form the time of Sivasri, it appears that the circulation of Kshatrapa coins in Andhra had not yet commenced during the time of Pulumavi or his successors due to the reason that the Satavahanas themselves issued their own silver coinage. The earliest arrival of Kshatrapa coins in Andhra probably commenced from the time of Damajadasri II (Saka 154 and 155; AD 232-234), son of Rudrasena I as evidenced at Kondapur[9] in Medak district.

Kshatrapa Connection with Andhra during the Ikshavaku Times

One of the inscriptions[10] at Nagarjunakonda of the time of Veerapurushadatta records the erection of a "Saila Stamba" (Stone-pillar) by Mahadevi Rudradhara Bhattarika, the daughter of the Maharaja of Ujjaini and probably the Queen of Veerapurushadatta (not clearly stated in the inscription). It also records that while the *Maha Chaitya* was being raised by Santisri, the sister of Maharaja Santamula, the founder member of the Ikshavaku dynasty, 170 *Dinari Mashakas* and a stone pillar were donated by Rudradhara Bhattarika. Vogel[11] rightly conjectures that Rudradhara Bhattarika belonged to the house of Chastana, as Veerapurushadatta's reign would fall in the 5th and 6th decades of the 3rd century.

The mention of *Dinari Mashakas* in the inscription is interesting. According to Sirkar[12], *Dinara* is the Indian designation of some Kushana coins which were imitated from the Roman *Dinari*. It is certain that the Ikshavakus never minted silver or gold coins. The flow of Roman coinage into South India, particularly Andhra Pradesh, did not abate even during the time of Ikshvakus, as attested by the discovery of the coins of Tiberius and Hadrianus and Queen Fasutina at Nagarjunakonda[13] and of Septimius Severus at Yelsewarm[14] in Nalgonda district.

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9. Trivedi (1953), pp. 3-5.
10. P. R. Srinivasan and Sankaranarayanan, *Inscriptions of the Ikshvaku period*, inscription No. 13, p. 12.
11. *Epigraphia Indica*, 20, p. 19.
12. D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan*, 1939 (henceforth Sircar, 1939), p. 23.
13. *Annual Reports of the ASI*, 1936-37, p. 61; *IAR*, 1956-57, p. 38, pl. LX-C.
14. Waheed Khan, *A Monograph on Yeleswaram Excavations*, 1963, p. 55.

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It would be unbecoming to the Queen of Veerapurushadatta to donate 170 copper or silver coins during such an auspicious occasion as the construction (or renovation) of the Maha Stupa. As there is no evidence that either the Satavahanas, Kshatrapas or Ikshavakus ever issued gold coins, the *Dinari Mashakas* donated by Rudradhara Bhattarika might only refer to the Roman gold coins. It is relevant to mention here that a fourteenth century Telugu poet, Sri Natha[15], boasted that he was bathed in *Dinari Tankas* (*Kanakabhisheka*)in a pearl decorated hall by the Vijayanagara Emperor.

The matrimonial alliance between Ikshavakus of Nagarjunakonda and the Kshatrapas of Chastana's line of Ujjaini continued even during the time of Ehuvala Chantamula, son of Rudrapurushadatta. In one of the *Chaya Stambha* or memorial pillar inscriptions[16] bearing an image of the deceased Queen by name Vammabhatta of the *Bahaphala Sagotra*, she is stated to be the wife of Maharaja Ehuvala Chantamula, a step mother of Vasisthiputra Rudrapurushadatta and the daughter of a Maha Kshatrapa. It is clear that the mother-in-law, Rudradhara Bhattarika, wife of Maharaja Veerapurushadatta and her daughter-in-law, Vammabhatta, a wife of Ehuvala Chantamula, came from the same family of Kshatrapas. Apparently Vammabhatta was the daughter of Rudradhara Bhattarika's brother. In case Rudradhara Bhattarika is taken to be the daughter to Rudrasena II, then Vammabhatta should be his grand-daughter through his son Vishvasimha, who was only a Kshatrapa for a period of 3 years between Saka 197-200 (AD 275-278). If she was the daughter of Rudrasena I, then Vammabhatta would be the daughter of Damajadasri II or Prthivisena, but it is known that neither of them was ever elevated to the status of Maha Kshatrapa. It is possible to solve the riddle if we presume that Rudradhara Bhattarika was the daughter of Veeradaman (son of Damasena) who died only as Kshatrapa between Saka 156-160 (AD 234-238); then, Vammabhatta would be the daughter of Rudrasena II (son of Veeradaman) who was a Maha Kshatrapa between Saka 177 to 200 (AD 255-278).

Vammabhatta's claim of her descent from *Bahaphala Sagotra*, evidently *Brihatphalayana Sagotra*, may lead us to presume that the Brihatphalayana king

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15. B. Srinivasa Charyulu, *Telugu Chaturvulu* (Telugu), p. 76.
16. P. R. Srinivasan and Sankaranarayan, *op. cit.*, inscription No. 49; *Epigraphia Indica*, 34, p. 22.

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Jayavarma[17] of the Kondamudi (Tenail taluka of Guntur district) plates dated to the closing years of the third, and the beginning of fourth, century AD may have had some kinship with Vammabhatta of the Ikshavakus.

The Abhira inscription[18] at Nagarjunakonda dated to the 30th regnal year of the Abhira King Vasisthiputra Vasushena records the consecration of a wooden image of Ashtabhuja Swamy by the *Maha Gramika Maha Talavara*, *Maha Dandanayaka*, Siva Seba of *Kausika Sagotra*. The sacred function was attended by an Yavana prince of Sanjayapuri, Saka Rudradaman of Avanti and Vishnu Rudra Sivalananda Satakarni of Vanavasa, all of whom had some share in the benefactions made in the reign of the Abhira king. On the basis of palaeography, the inscription may slightly be later in date than those of the last Ikshavaku king Rudrapurushadatta, with a few peculiarities common to Kshatrapa inscriptions as well, and could be dated to the last quarter of 3rd century AD. It clearly indicates that the Ikshvakus kingdom, along with its capital Vijayapuri (Nagarjunakonda), came under the rule of the Abhiras after the Ikshvakus.

Soundara Rajan suggests that Saka Rudradaman of Avanti found in the inscription may refer to Rudradaman II, father of Rudrasena III affiliated to the family of Jivadaman. He was the first to occupy the position of Maha Kshatrapa after the time of Bhatridaman. Soundara Rajan[19] further suggested that Saka Rudradaman of Avanti might have had a comparatively peaceful reign and was on very congenial terms with the temporary (Abhira) lord of Nagarjunakonda at that time, that he had only retained a normal title and hold over the Avanti throne, as much of his kingdom had temporarily been run over or aggrandised by other powers and he had to join hands with the Abhira king, who was probably his overlord then, in non-political activities and that he could find time to indulge in the benevolent activities at such a distant ambit like Nagarjunakonda. The fact that he had simply been mentioned as Saka Rudradaman of Avanti without other political titles would seem to support the view that he had totally lost hold of the Avanti

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17. Sircar (1939), p. 41 ff.
18. *Epigraphia Indica*, 34, p. 197 ff.
19. K. V. Soundara Rajan, "Some interesting coin data Upperkot, Junagadh", *JNSI*, 22, 1960, pp. 121-122.

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kingdom and attended the auspicious function of consecration of a wooden image of Ashtabhuja Narayana as a mere spectator.

The above mistaken observation by Soundara Rajan was due to his identification of Saka Rudradaman of the Nagarjunakonda inscription with Rudradaman II, father of Rudrasena III of the family of Swami Jivadaman. He was probably a Mahakshatrapa before Saka 270 (AD 348), in which year his son Rudrasena III succeeded him. Evidently, Soundara Rajan did not take the Abhira-Trikutaka era of Saka 171 (AD 249) into consideration, according to which the 30th regnal year of Abhira Vasushena recorded in the above inscription would fall in AD 279. The reigning period of Rudradaman III being a little before AD 348, there is a long gap of over 70 years. If Vammabhatta is believed to be the daughter of Rudrasena II (Saka 117-200), the year of his (Rudrasena's) death would coincide with the year of annexation by the Abhira conqueror, Vasushena, of the Ikshvakus kingdom then ruled by Rudrasena's grandson, Rudrapurushadatta. It is, thus, likely that Saka Rudradaman might be an unknown and exiled brother of Vishvasimha, the son and successor of Rudrasena II, who made Vijayapuri his political asylum after a war of succession for the throne of Avanti.

Installation of Ashtabhuja Narayana in the midst of Buddhist and Saivite religious edifices may mark the revival of the Vishnu Bhakti cult in the Andhra area.

Among the other participants in the above function, *Maha Gramika*, *Maha Talavara*, *Maha Dandanayaka*, and Siva Seba of *Kousika Sagotra* in all probability belonged to a line of rulers known through a good number of Sebaka coins brought to light during recent times. Basing on the Brahmi characters on a copper coin of Ramno Sebaka, Mirashi[20] surmises the existence of these rulers during *circa* 3rd century BC. In his editorial comment, Altekar[21] dates them to 1st century BC and suggests that Sebakas might be feudatories under the imperial Satavahanas. Interestingly, two more Ramno Sebaka coins, probably of the same mint as that of Mirashi's coin, were found on the surface at Vaddamanu[22] in

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20. V. V. Mirashi, *JNSI*, 7, 1945, p. 94.
21. A. S. Altekar, 1945; *ibid*, p. 96.
22. T. V. G. Sastry, *op.cit.*, pp. 208-209.

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Guntur District and later three more were published by Raja Reddy and Suryanarayana Reddy[23].

According to Dinkar Rao[24], the home province of Sebakas might be the central Deccan as most of these coins were found around the Hyderabad region. Dinkar Rao also believes that the earliest ruler, Ramno Sebaka, was a feudatory and contemporary of Satakarni I. Mirashi[25] published one more Sebaka coin from the collection of Harmuj Kauj of Hyderabad and with a legend read by him as *Kasa Siva Sebakasa*. Mirashi conjecturs that the full legend could be *Pakasa Siva Sebaka* and Sanskritises the same as *Prakasa Siva Sebakasya*. He dates this coin to 3rd century AD. Raja Reddy and Suryanarayana Reddy[26] published a good number of Siva Sebaka coins reported to have been collected from Hyderabad, Warangal, Jangaon, and Jogipet, with legends read by them being similar to Mirashi and Dinkar Rao.

Dinkar Rao[27] published one more coin of Sebaka, on which he read the legend as *Pakasa Siva Sabakasa Mahagamakasa*. In the light of the Abhira Inscription of Nagarjunakonda, the readings of Mirashi, Dinkar Rao and Raja Reddy of their respective coins require correction. In the case of Mirashi's coin, the legend may be read as *(Mahadandanaya)kasa Siva Sebakasa* and on Dinkar Rao's it may be read as *Maha Gamakasa*, *(Mahadandana)yakasa Siva Sebakasa*, the truncated *ya* in the beginning of the legend being wrongly read by them as *pa*.

The excavations at Peddabankur[28] yielded a terracotta mould of a coin inscribed in Brahmi reading as *Mahatalavarasa Siva Sebakasa*. There is beautiful figure of a horse in the middle of the inscription. The back of the mould has impressions of threads.

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23. Raja Reddy & G. Suryanarayana Reddy, *Coins of Satraps of the Satavahana Era*, 1983, pp. 79-80.
24. Dinkar Rao, "A Rare coin of Sebaka Dynasty", *JNSI*, 22, 1960, pp. 160 ff.
25. V. V. Mirashi, *JNSI*, 8, 1946, pp. 107 ff.
26. Raja Reddy and G. Suryanarayana Reddy, *op.cit.*, pp. 7, 8, 14-19.
27. Dinkar Rao, *op.cit.*, p. 162.
28. V. V. Krishna Sastry *The Proto and Early Historical Cultures of Andhra Pradesh*, 1983, p. 186, pl. 98, No. 3.

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It is now clear that *Mahagramika Mahatalavara Mahadandanayaka* Siva Seba of *Kausika Sagotra* of the *Perivideha* family, delegated with the supreme powers of general administration (*Mahagramika*), judiciary (*mahatalavara*) and military (*Mahadandanayaka*), was the feudal chief under the Abhira king Vasushena and effectively ruled a major part of Andhra and issued coins from different mints. This is an important evidence to testify that Andhradesa came under the rule of Abhiras for some time after Ikshvakus, and this corroborates the Puranic evidence.

So far, we have discussed the political set up in Andhra during the later Kshatrapa times, lenient enough to leave the doors open for free circulation of Kshatrapa coins which, in all probability, had been accepted as legal tender in the absence of local coinage in precious metals. Now it would be relevant to investigate the reasons for the discovery of the hoard of Kshatrapa coins at Ghantasala.

Historicity of Ghantasala

Ghantasala (Lat 16 8' N, Long 80 66' E), in Krishna district, is about 22 km. west of Machilipatnam, the district headquarters. In Ptolemy's[29] *Ancient India* 'Kontakossyla' is stated to be a mart in the Maisolia region near the mouth of the river Maisolos. The Maisolia of Ptolemy may undoubtedly be identified with the region of Mahishasaka figured in the inscription of the Sada king and noticed at Guntupalli[30], a famous Buddhist establishment in West Godavari District. It is known through the said inscription that a king named Sada of the Mahameghavahana dynasty was the lord of both Kalinga (the region upto Godavari) and Mahishasaka (the region between Godavari and Krishna). According to *Mahavamsa*[31] the great Buddhist Acharya, Thera Mahadeva, was deputed by Ashoka to *Mahisha Mandala* in *Pallava Bogga* (or the *Pallava Bhoga*). Some Buddhist traditions[32] of Ceylon and Siam inform that this region had been inhabitated by the Nagas, who possessed one or two *Drona* measures of the corporeal relics of Budha, which later were enshrined in a great stupa near the Diamond Sands. The region inhabitated by

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29. Mc.Crindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, 1885, pp. 66, 68.
30. R. Subrahmanyam *The Guntupalli Brahmi Inscription of Kharavela*, Epigraphical Series No. 3, p. 7.
31. *Mahavamsa*, 12.4, 29, Geiger, 1912, p. 171; Malalasekhara, *Dictionery of Pali Proper Names*, 2 (Repr. 1983), p. 592.
32. A. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, 1871 (reprint, 1990), p. 450.

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these Nagas was known as Majerika, which appears to be a Cylonese slang for Mahishasaka. By the time of Ptolemy (AD 140), the Majerika region, situated to the south of the River Krishna, got its own political identity to be known as Arvarnoi or Yeruvananadu in which, according to Ptolemy[33]. Malanga (Malangur or Aminabad in Guntur district) was the royal city of Basaronagos (Basavanga ?), whose daughter or grand daughter might have been given in marriage along with the Naga kingdom to Virakurca Varma[34], the founder-member of the Pallava dynasty. It is known through epigraphical evidence that of all the numerous Buddhist stupas in Andhra Pradesh only those at Dhanakataka (Amarvati), Bhattiprolu and Nagarjunakonda contained the actual relics of Buddha and all the three are situated in the present Guntur district. The above Buddhist tradition also informs that Prince Dantakumara and Princess Hemamala, while carrying the tooth relic of Buddha, were wrecked on the coast neat the Diamond Sands. Cunningham[35] had very ingeniously fixed the position of the "Diamond Sands" near Dharanikota or Dhanakataka on the Krishna as the town is situated in the vicinity of the diamond mines of Paritala (on the opposite bank to Amaravati). Thus the *Mahishamandala* of *Mahavamsa* Mahishasaka of the Guntupalli in scription and Majerika of Ceylonese tradition appear identical with Ptolemy's Maisoloi.

'Kontakosayla' of Ptolemy might be identified with the Karnatakasila (literally 'the hill of thorns') mentioned in an inscription[36] at Amaravati which informs that an Upasaka by name Uttara, a native of Kantakasila, gave a gift to the great Stupa at Amaravati.

According to an inscription[37] of the time of the Ikshvakus king, Veerapurushadatta, found on a slab on the floor of an apisidal shrine over the mound Nallarallabodu, popularly known as Simhala Vihara, a lay worshiper by name Bodhisri got erected a stone pillared hall (*Saila Mandapa*) at the eastern gate of the Great

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33. McCrindle, *op.cit.*, pp. 185, 186.

34. Sirkar (1938), p. 158.

35. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 450.

36. J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amarâvati and Jaggayyapeta in Krishna district of Madras Presidency*, 1970, p. 106.

37. *Epigraphia Indica*, 20, p. 22; Srinivasan and Sankaranarayanan, *op.cit.*, p. 14, inscription No. 17.

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Chaitya (*Maha Chaitya*) of Kantakasaila. We can now draw inference through Polemy and the two afore-mentioned inscriptions that Kantakasila was a busy market town and that it had gone to the notice of Ptolemy and also as a great Buddhist religious centre with the existence of a *Maha Chaitya* or Great Stupa. It is generally understood that a *Maha Chaitya* might contain the actual relics of Lord Buddha. However, this fact is not supported by any evidence found at Ghantasala so far.

Kantakossyla or Kantakasila was rightly identified by B. V. Krishna Rao[38] with Ghantasala in Krishna district, as it contained a massive stupa of unique architecture discovered and excavated in late 19th century by Alexander Rea[39]. During the excavations a large number of carved slabs and *Ayaka* pillars were recovered. One of these pillars contains an inscription datable on palaeographical grounds to 2nd century AD which records the gift of an Ayaka pillar by the wife of a *Maha navika*, who might be the Captain of a ship or the head of a fleet of ships.

The uniquences of the stupa lies in its method of construction. It consists of a central cube of solid brick work enclosed by a square chamber, which again was enclosed by two concentric circular walls. The inner concentric wall was intersected by 12 cross walls emanating from the square chamber, thus forming 12 separate cells which in all probability represent 12 constellations of the zodiac such as the *Mesha*, *Vrishabha*, *Mithuna Karkataka*, *Simha*, *Kanya*, *Tula*, *Vrichika*, *Dhanu*, *Makara*, *Kumbha* and *Meena*. This arrangement would symbolise the belief that Buddha, represented by the corporeal relics in the centre, was the pivot of the entire universe (represented by the zodiac).

The brick work of the cube in the centre of the stupa is quite solid. Exactly in the middle of the solid cube was noticed a nine inch square bore or well which was filled-up with earth. In this well were found a few classified bones associated with a square lead coin, crystal, beads, gold flowers and leaves secured inside a triple casket arrangement.

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38. B. V. Krishna Rao, *Early Dynasties of Andhra Desa*, 1942, p. 75.

39. Alexander, Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, ASI, New Imperial Series, 5, pp. 32-43.

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The excavation further revealed a large number of carved slabs around the stupa as also inside some Hindu temples of the village. These included a slab of *Buddha padas*, *Dharma Chakra*, an exquisite relief of *Poorna Ghata* with emanating foliage. The sculptural collection included a stone *chattra* with a hole in the middle for insertion of *yashti* and having relief of galloping *yalis*, standing elephant and buffalo squatting deer. On a railing fragment is a fine representation of the birth of Buddha in relief, in which Mayadevi, mother of Siddhartha, stands towards right holding the branch of a tree in her hand and right hand kept in *Katihasta*. Towards her right, three divine beings carry a long scarf, symbolically representing Lord Buddha.

When the importance of Karnataka or Ghantasala is considered as one of the important market towns that went to the notice of Ptolemy and a great Buddhist centre having a *Maha Chaitya* in which the actual corporeal relics of Buddha were incorporated, it is not surprising that a hoard of Kshatrapa coins were found here. It is likely that the present Zilla Parishad High School, in the play ground of which these coins came to light, might have come upon a ancient historical mound as the name of the surrounding township, Yerrinemmapadu (literally means in Telugu a historical mound where lime trees, the produce of which is not fit for consumption) once situated. *Yerri* is a slang for *Verri* means mad or useless, *Nimma* is a lemon or lime tree. In case the excavation is taken up in the future at this spot, it may bring to light the remains of an ancient township, contemporary with the Buddhist establishment of Ghantasala.

The coins would also reveal that the hoard was deposited either during the time of Mahakshatrapa Bhatridaman, (Saka 214 to 251; AD 292-3-4) or his son Vishvasena with whom came to an end the rule of the family of Chastana.

At the time of discovery it is reported that the haord containing 24 silver coins weighed 49.5 gm. in total. Subsequently it was chemically cleaned and each coin was carefully weighed by P. Gayatri, Chemist of the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Hyderabad, under my direction.

Examination of the coins shows that most of these coins were stamped with three varieties of marks, the two most common being a dot and a ring, found only on

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the obverse, either on the cap, on the temples, on the chin, between moustaches and ears. The third uncommon mark is found on the coin of the Bhatridaman over his head, much above the ears. It is neither a numeral nor an alphabet, but looks like the letter *ha* in the Kharoshti script of Nahapana's time and almost similar to the modern English numeral 2 with a half ring attached to the horizontal stroke. I presume that these three varieties of marks might be the royal stamps of the Ikshvakus or other kings intended to certify the coin as legal tender. However, this is only a tentative suggestion which is open for discussion.

The inscriptions on different coins of the same king show much variation, and this may be due to two reasons either the change of die in successive regnal years, or the coins being minted at different places.

In case of the Abhira king Ishwaradatta, most of which were issued in his first regnal year, much variation is noticed in the paleography of the coins found at different places. While his coin of Ghantasala has somewhat blunted but carefully chiselled letters in the inscription, many of the coins published by Amiteshwar Jha[40] from nos. 522 to 533 contain sharp letters, except no. 527 which is nearer to the Ghantasala one.

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40. Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor, *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Ksatrapas*, 1994, pp. 175-76.

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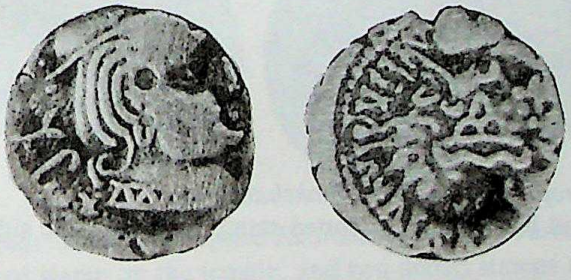
Catalogue

1. Vijayasena, Saka 174, wt. 2.054 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *(Da)masena putrasa Rajñ Mahakshatrapasa Vija__*
Two pock marks are seen on the forehead. Coin is abraded. Three arched hill and other details are distorted. Illegible Greek legend is found around the portrait.

2. Damadajasri III Saka 171 or 172, wt. 1.765 gm, size 1.5 cm.



Legend: *Damasenaputrasa Rajño Mahakshatrapa__*
Face of the king looks youthful. Prominent dot stamp on the temple.

3. Ishwardatta, wt. 2.267 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Ishvaradattasa Prathame*
Obverse is worn out, with illegible Greek legend around.

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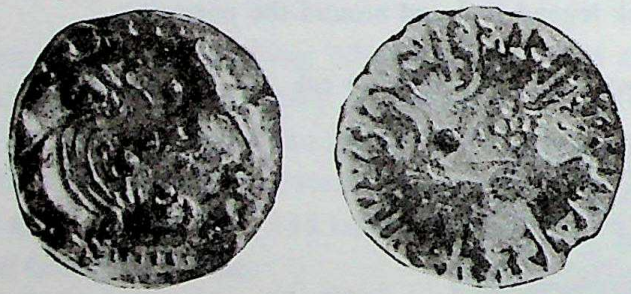
4. Rudrasena II, wt. 1.838 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *(Mahakshatrapa)sa Viradamaputrasa Rajño Mahakshatra(pa)*
A ringed stamp is seen over the hat.

5. Rudrasena II, wt. 1.948 gm, size 1.5 cm.



Legend: *Rajño Kshatrapasa Viradamaputrasa Rajño Mahakshatrapasa*
Stamped dots on the forehead, ear and hat. One more dotted stamp is seen by the side of the hill on the reverse.

6. Rudrasena II, wt. 2.161 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *Viradamaputrasa Rajño Mahakshatrapa__*
Die incuse seen on reverse. On the obverse, there are dotted stamps on the hat, ear and a ringed stamp below the nose. The bust carries middle-aged features.

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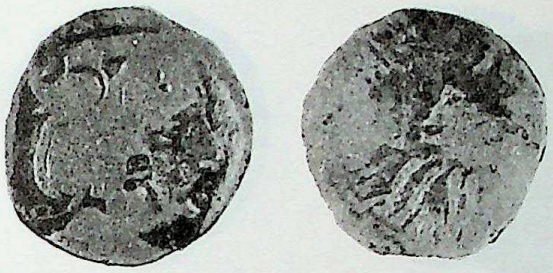
7. Rudrasena II, wt. 1.912 gm, size 1.5 cm.



Legend: *—putrasa Rajño Rudra__*
Ringed stamp above the ear and one more on the lip. A dot on the cheeks. The Portrait wearsa boyish look. On the reverse, most of the legend is illegible.

8. Vishvasimha, wt. 2.058 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa_svasihasa__*
Ringed stamp on the temple, and two dotted stamps on the cheeks. The reverse is not clear.

9. Vishvasimha, Saka 200(?) wt. 2.037 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *__Kshatrapa Rudrasena__*
Remarks : A dotted stamp is seen on the hat, and ringed stamp on the cheeks. Coin is much abraded, and there is a shifting of the reverse die.

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10. Vishvasimha, wt. 2.082 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rajño Kshatrapasa Vishva__*
Ringed stamps, one above the forehead and another on the neck. Legend is slightly off flan.

11. Vishvasimha, wt. 2.178, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Rudra__ Vishvasihasa*
Dotted stamps as on coin no. 10; reverse legend is blurred.

12. Vishvasimha, wt. 1.736 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Rudra__ Vishvasihasa*
Two dotted stamps on the hat and a ringed stamp on the cheek.

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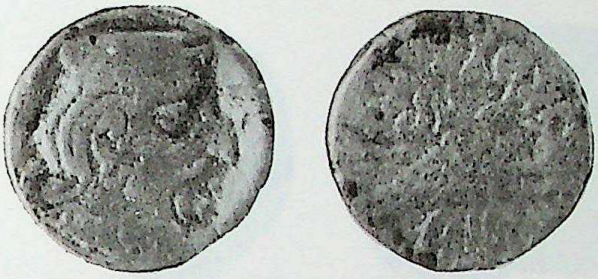
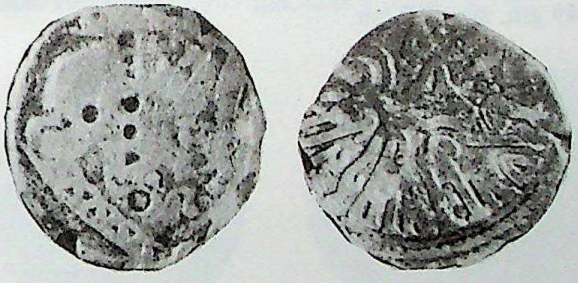
13. Vishvasimha, wt. 1.87 gm, size 1.5 cm.



Legend: *Rajño Kshatra__ Rudra__ Mahakshatrapasa Vishvasihasa*
Coin is very much abraded.

14. Vishvasimha, wt. 2.066 gm, size 1.5 cm.



Legend: *Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rajño __Kshatrapa__ Vishva__*
There are dotted stamps in an oblique line across the head, and one dot over the ringed stamps on the mouth. On the reverse, dotted border is seen above.

15. Vishvasimha, wt. 2.157 gm, size. 1.5 cm.

Legend: *__Rudrasenaputrasa Rajño Mahakshatra__*
This coin was wrongly attributed to Bhartridaman by Raghunath (*Numismatic Digest*, 15). The face appears elderly, with moustache similar to that on other coins of Vishvasimha of this hoard. In contrast, the face of Bhartridaman is middle-aged, with fine features and no moustache.

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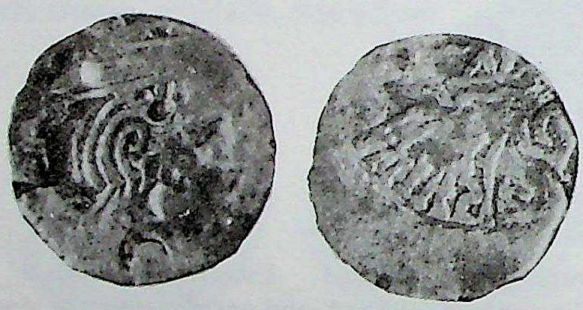
16. Bhatridaman, wt. 2.024 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *Mahakshatrapasa Rajño__sa Bhartridama__*
Dotted stamps occur on the temple. There are some short vertical marks on the head. The portrait has a youthful appearance. The coin is abraded on the both the sides.

17. Bhartridaman, Saka 204, wt. 2.149 gm, size 1.5 cm.



Legend: *__sa Rudrasenaputrasa__*
Dotted stamps on the temple and cheeks, and a ringed stamp on the neck are seen. The reverse die has shifted, leaving a die-incuse on top.

18. Bhartridaman, wt. 1.688 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: *Rajño Kshatrapasa Bha__*
Two dotted stamps are seen on the neck.

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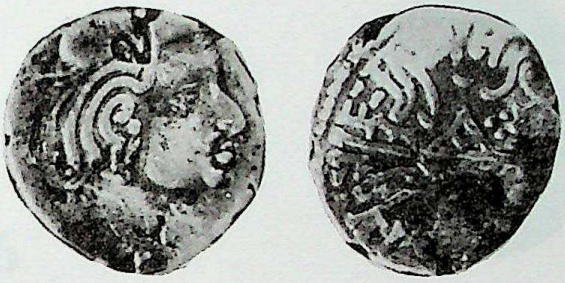
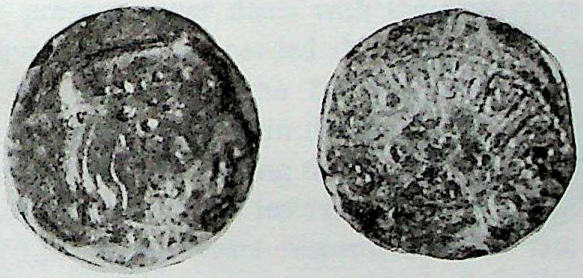
19. Bhartridaman, wt. 1.977 gm., size 1.5 cm.



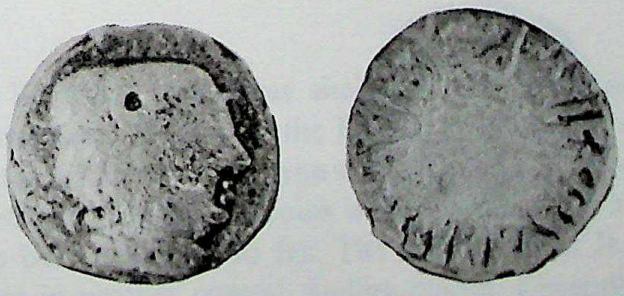
Legend: __*Rudrasenaputrasa Rajño Kshatra(pasa) Bhartri*__
The portrait shows a youthful face. An uncommon symbol is stamped on the head.

20. Vishvasena, wt. 1.969 gm, size 1.5 cm



Legend: __*Kshtrapasa Vishvasenasa*
Two notches are visible on the head above ears. There is a die-incuse on top.

21. Vishvasena, wt. 1.720 gm, size 1.5 cm



Legend: *Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Bhartridamaputrasa Rajño Kshatrapasa Vishvasenasa*
The coin is much abraded. A dotted stamp is seen on the head.

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22. Vishvasena, wt. 2.258 gm, size. 1.5 cm.

Legend: __*Rajño Mahakshatrapa*__ *Vishvasenasa*
The features of the bust are those of a youth. Three notches are seen on the temple. On the reverse, there is a prominent die-incuse.

23. Vishvasena or Bhartridaman, wt. 1.943 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Legend: __*Mahakshatrapasa Bhartri*__
Remarks : The legend probably starts at 5'o'clock. There is dot on the cheeks. The coin is abraded on both the sides.

24. Unattributed, wt. 1.688 gm, size 1.5 cm.

Features on both the sides are totally distorted, and hence not legible.

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16

COINAGE OF IKSHVAKUS

M. Veerender

The present paper deals with the find spots and some unattributed coins of Ikshvakus who succeeded the imperial Satavahanas in eastern Deccan during the last quarter of the 2nd century AD. Siri Vasisthiputra Chantamula, a feudatory or chieftain in the Satavahana dynasty, probably declared himself an independent ruler during the period of later Satavahanas, in all probability after Yajña Satakarni. His inscriptions from Rentala and Kesanapally, issued in 5th and 13th regnal years respectively with late 2nd century Brahmi characters, confirm that the area (present Macherla region in Guntur district) was under his control. His son and successor, Siri Virapurushadatta, expanded the territory and made his capital as Vijayapuri (modern Nagarjunakonda, which now has been submerged in the dam). During the regime of the Ikshvakus, Vijayapuri became a world famous Buddhist centre.

The Ikshvaku coins bear similar symbols to those of their predecessors, the Satavahanas. They used the Elephant symbol on obverse and Ujjain symbol on reverse uniformly. This type of coins were used by many Satavahana kings also. The metal used for the coins was lead. No other metallic coins of the Ikshvakus have been reported so far. The lead coins of Ikshvakus were found at many places in present coastal Andhra region. Excepting at one or two places from Nalgonda and Khammam districts, all the coins reported are from Krishna, Guntur, Prakasham and Nellore districts.

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The inscriptions of Ikshvakus are found at many places like Nagarjunakonda, Rentala, Gurazala, Jaggayapeta, Kesanapally, *etc.*, places which reveal the history of the dynasty. According to available sources, there were four kings in the dynasty: Siri Chantamula, the founder, Siri Virapurushadatta, Siri Ehavula Chantamula and Siri Rudrapurushadatta. Apart from these names, other names like EliSiri, Haritipura, *etc.*, are also referred to in inscriptions. The inscribed coins also provide the names of the rulers, but in short forms like *Siri Cha* or *Siri Chata* for Siri Chantamula, *Siri Vi*, *Siri Vira* for Siri Virapurushadatta, *Siri E*, *Siri Eha* for Siri Ehavula Chantamula and *Siri Ru*, *Siri Ruda* for Siri Rudrapurushadatta. Historians have prepared the genealogy and the regnal periods of the kings of the dynasty based on information provided in the inscriptions[1].

Find Sports of Ikshvaku Coins

1. *Dharanikota or Amaravati*

Dharanikota is situated on the right bank of river Krishna in Guntur district. Literary and archaeological evidence show that Dharanikota was a well known place even during the time of Ashoka. The Maha Stupa was built in the Mauryan period and renovated and developed in subsequent times. The architectural patterns, sculptures and the epigraphic references support the view that there were additions to the Stupa in various stages[2].

Archaeological excavations conducted at Dharanikota / Amaravati reveal the numismatic data from Punchmarked (PMC) to medieval coins. On the basis of the numismatics evidence, the chronology of the site is Mauryan (PMC), post-Mauryan (Sada), Satavahana, Ikshvaku, Vishnukundin *etc*. There is no detailed report on Dharanikota to study the coins found there. But a few coins found at this site and now kept in the collection of Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad (BACRI) helped us to study the numismatic aspect of the Ikshvakus at Dharanikota. The available information tells us that

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1. R. A. Subrahmanyam, *Catalogue of Ikshvaku coins in the A. P. Govt. Museum*, Hyderabad, 1962.
2. H. Sarkar, and S. P. Nainar, *Amaravati* (Guide book), New Delhi, 1980, p. 8.

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Chantamula (the founder), and Siri Rudrapurushadatta (the last king of the dynasty) are not represented. Coins of Siri Virapurushadatta and Siri Ehavula Chantamula, along with some uninscribed coins are, however, present. In the absence of more details, it is difficult to say anything about the duration of the Ikshvaku rule at Amaravati. Nonetheless, at Vaddamanu, a nearby site excavated and reported by BACRI[3], provide more information about the establishment of Ikshvakus in this region.

2. Duvvuru

The village Duvvuru is situated in Nellore district on the bank of river Pennar. A local doctor from the nearby town, Buchireddy Palem, has collected some Punchmarked, Satavahana and Ikshvaku coins from Duvvuru.

Parts of present Nellore district were as Puginadu and Hiranyaka regions during Satavahana and Ikshvaku rule. The feudatories (?) of Ikshvakus, *Mahadandanayaka* Skandasiri and *Mahatalavara* of Hiranyaka clan, are said to be ruling over this area during the Ikshvaku period.

3. Garapadu

Garapadu is situated in Guntur district, and is 20 km. away from the famous Buddhist centre, Amaravati. This place is very near to Velpur, where an inscription of Sada dynasty was found. The Sadas ruled in this region before the advent of Satavahanas[4].

Archaeological excavations conducted in the mounds of the village by BACRI revealed a Neolithic settlement in the early levels, followed by Megalithic and early historic cultures. A total of 15 coins were obtained during the excavations. They are 5 Sada uninscribed coins with lion on obverse (3 from surface, similar to Vaddamanu type); 6 Satavahana coins (Yajña Satakarni 2 and Satakarni 4, Elephant type); 3 Ikshvaku uninscribed coins and an unidentifiable coin. The occurrence of Ikshvaku coins along with Sada and Satavahana coins at the site

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3. Vaddamanu, hardly 8 km. away from Amaravati, reveals more information on the early history of Andhradesa; see T. V. G. Sastri, *et. al*, *Vaddamanu Excavations, 1981-85*, Hyderabad, 1992.
4. A. K. Jha and M. Veerender, "Velpuru Inscription and Maha Sada", *ND*, 15, p. 23.

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leads one to presume that the site Garapadu must have been an important place during the early Christian era.

4. Nagarjunakonda

Nagarjunakonda is situated on the right bank of river Krishna in Guntur district. The excavations conducted here in four spells have brought to light much information regarding the history of the Ikshvakus. Vijayapuri or present Nagarjunakonda, being the capital city of Ikshvakus, has yielded many coins. As many as 3000 lead Ikshvaku coins were unearthed here. They include surface collection, hoards and regular strata finds[5].

Though the first ruler, Siri Chantamula, is known to have ruled elsewhere, his coins were abundantly found at the site. His coins with legends *Siri Cha* and *Siri Chata* along with elephant facing left or right were noticed. The coins of Siri Madhariputra Virapurushadatta, having elephant with uplifted or hanging trunk facing left or right and legend *Siri Vi*, *Siri Vira* were found. Siri Vasisthiputra Ehavula Chantamula, successor of Virapurushadatta issued coins with legends like *Siri E*, *Siri Eha* with elephant and Ujjain symbols. The last king, Siri Rudrapurushadatta followed the pattern of his predecessors and issued the coins with elephant and Ujjain type with the legends, *Siri Ru*, *Siri Ruda*.

Many uninscribed coins of Ikshvakus were also unearthed at the site. Apart from Ikshvaku coins, other coins like those of Satavahanas, Romans, Vishnukundins, Vijayanagara, Mughal, *etc.*, were also unearthed at Nagarjunakonda.

5. Nelakondapally

This place is situated 22 km. away from Khammam town, the district headquarters. The village is known for its ancient mounds, namely *Virat raja dibba and Bairagi gutta* ('the mound of Raja Virat and hillock of saints'). The Department of Archaeology, Govt. of A.P., conducted the excavations and the preliminary data were published in its annual reports. A huge brick built Stupa (locally called *Viratraju dibba*) and a habitation site were brought to light by the

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5. The author is thankful to Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) for giving permission to study the Ikshvaku coins of Nagarjunakonda.

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excavations. Apart from this 9 stone sculptures of Buddha were reported from near the *Bairagi gutta*. The excavations have also yielded a few lead uninscribed coins of Ikshvakus and copper coins of Vishnukundins.

The presence of a Stupa with several hectors of habitation land indicates that Nelakondapally was probably a big religious centre during the period of Ikshvakus.

6. Ongole

Ongole is situated in Prakasham district. Being on the sea coast and not far way from Vijayapuri, the capital of Ikshvakus, it must have served as a trading centre during the period. The present day name Ongole appears to have been derived from Pumgavrolu ('Pumgavrolu' to 'Omgolu' to 'Ongole'). Pumgavrolu was the capital of Pukiyas of Puginadu[6]. An inscription from Nagarjunakonda refers to *Mahasenapati Mahatalavara* Skandasiri of Pukiya family, who ruled from the area Puginadu or Punginadu which extended on either side of the river Gundlakamma[7].

A treasure trove consisting of 277 lead coins along with a few pieces of pot sherds, probably of the broken container, was received by the State Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of A.P. and subsequently a catalogue was published[8]. Usually the coins of the Ikshvakus are found in both varieties: Elephant facing left, and facing right. Out of the 277 pieces obtained from Ongole, however, none of them are found facing left. Inscribed coins of all the four Ikshvaku kings were present in the hoard along with other uninscribed Ikshvaku coins.

7. Tenali

Tenali is situated in Guntur district. During 1984-85, a hoard of 3171 lead coins was acquired by BACRI. This hoard is said to have been found in this area. Tenali, not far away from the religious centres like Amaravati and Vaddamanu and falling in Puginadu region, in most likelihood served as a trading centre during Ikshvaku period.

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6. B. V. Krishna Rao, *A History of Early Dynasties of Andhra Desa, C. 200-625 AD*, Madras, 1942, p. 45.
7. P. R. Srinivasan, *Inscriptions of the Ikshvaku Period*, Hyderabad, 1979.
8. Subrahmanyam, *op.cit.*

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The hoard is similar to that of Ongole, consisting of inscribed coins of all the four known Ikshvaku kings and many other types of uninscribed coins.

8. Tulluru

Tulluru, a *mandal* headquarters, is situated in Guntur district, and 3 km. away from Vaddamanu and 12 km. away from Amaravati. According to local sources, recently a hoard of lead coins consisting of around 8 to 9 thousand pieces having Elephant and Ujjain symbols was found by a villager in a big pot.. It is reported to have been acquired by the concerned authorities for further studies[9].

9. Vaddamanu

Vaddamanu is situated 10 km. away from Amaravati, a famous Buddhist centre in Guntur district. Excavations conducted by BACRI during 1981-85 revealed very interesting information pertaining to the early Andhra history[10]. The antiquities and religious structures provide evidence of early Jainism at Vaddamanu. Although some if the antiquities found date back to *c.* 3rd century BC, the site flourished under the Sada kings who were the descendants of king Siri Sada and king Kharavela of Mahameghavahana dynasty of *c.* 2nd and 1st century BC. During Phase III, *i.e.* Ikshvakus (2nd and 3rd centuries AD), earlier structures were converted into Buddhist establishments and the site continued as a religious centre.

The numismatic finds at Vaddamanu throw more light on the rule of Ikshvakus in this area. A total number of 195 lead coins were found at this place. Of them, 48 were from the surface itself, and the rest were from stratified levels. Coins of Chantamula, Virapurushadatta and Ehavula Chantamula are noticed among them. No representation is found for the last king, Rudrapurushadatta.

A hoard of 53 coins belonging to the period of Siri Virapurushadatta was found in Period II. This hoard contains the coins of Siri Chantamula and uninscribed coins. A few uninscribed coins belonging to Ikshvakus which are found along with Satavahana coins in the same levels indicate the very short rule of the Satavahanas over this region.

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9. It is said that this hoard is at present with ASI, Hyderabad circle.
10. Sastri, *op. cit.*

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10. Yeleshwaram

Yeleshwaram is situated on the left bank of the river Krishna in Nalgonda district. Being in the area of Nagarjunakonda valley, the cultural context of the site is similar to that of Nagarjunakonda. According to certain sources, the word 'Yeleshwaram' is derived from the name Eli Siri[11], who was the commander-in-chief under Ikshvaku ruler Ehavula Chantamula. The excavations conducted by the State Department of Archaeology, Govt. of A.P., yielded antiquities of Megalithic, Satavahana, Roman, Ikshvaku and post-Ikshvaku periods[12]. The occurrence of Roman pottery and coins, along with the fact that the site is located on the bank of river Krishna, indicate that the site was a flourishing trading centre during early centuries of the Christian era.

According to the available sources, coins of all except the last ruler Rudrapurushadatta were found at the site.

A single uninscribed coin of Ikshvakus is reported from Veerapuram in Kurnool district[13]. This may be a stray find.

Apart from the above mentioned sites there may have been some more sites which produced Ikshvaku coins in the Andhra region.

Coins with Uncertain Attribution

The lead coins of Ikshvakus range between 1 to 1.5 cm. in size and 1.5 to 3.5 gm. in weight and were popular in coastal Andhra region. Although the rule of Ikshvakus was for a short period in comparison with that of Satavahanas, their name is familiar because of their glorious patronage to the Andhra art and culture.

There are some Ikshvaku coins which pose a problem of proper attribution. Such coins contain the legend in one or two Brahmi characters like *Si* or *Siri* just above the elephant, facing right with uplifted trunk. A well executed Ujjain symbol is on reverse. Many such coins are available from Tenali hoard. Since all the known four kings had the prefix *Siri*, it is not possible to attribute these

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11. A. W. Khan, *A Monograph on Eleshwaram Excavations*, Hyderabad, 1963, p. 55.
12. *Ibid.*
13. G. Kamalakar and M. Veerender, *Coins from Veerapuram Excavations*, Hyderabad, 1991.

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coins to any particular king. As such these probably are the issue of all or some of the Ikshvaku kings where the legend *Siri* have appeared only partially (Fig. 1).

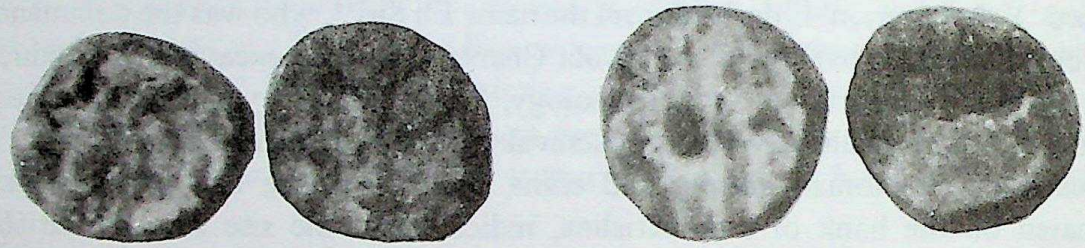

Fig. 1

Apart from these, a few coins from the same hoard contain two letters, drawn very clearly just above the elephant. In most of the cases, the elephant is facing right with uplifted trunk. The legend is very clear but it is not possible to meaningfully read and attribute them. One such piece is also reported from Vaddamanu[14] (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2

In some other coins, letters like *Ma*, *Ra*, *etc.*, are seen in Brahmi characters above the elephant. Coins from Tenali, Vaddamanu, Dharanikota, Nelakondapally, and Nagarjunakonda contain many such coins with illegible / incomplete legends[15] (Fig. 3).

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14. Sastri, *op.cit.*, coin no. 244, p. 195.
15. *Ibid.*, coin nos. 170, 224 and 225.

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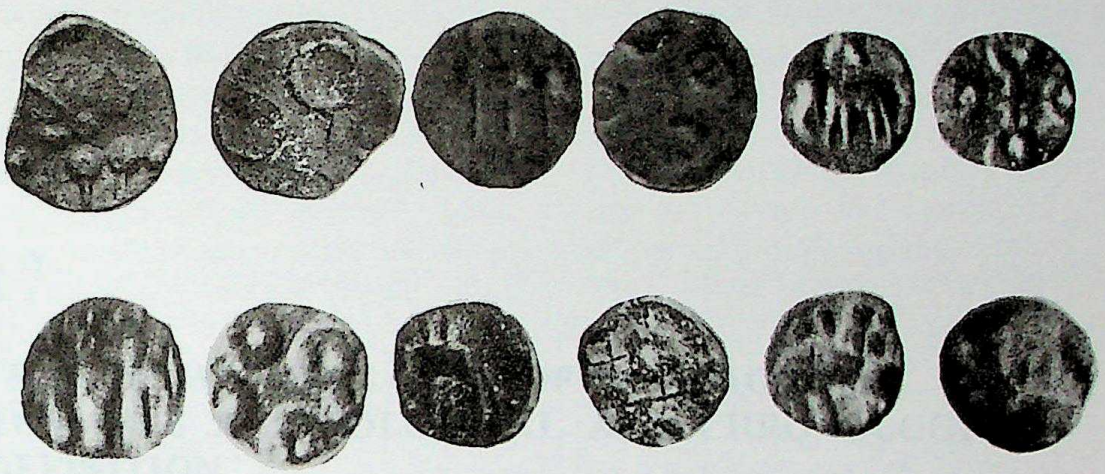

Fig. 3

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17

"FIRE ALTAR" TYPE COINS OF SKANDAGUPTA: TOWARDS A TYPOLOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DEFINITION

K. K. Maheshwari and Biswajeet Rath

The authors had earlier examined and published[1] a coin-lot of Kumaragupta of the silver bust and *garuda* type. That study had necessitated a second look at the numismatic chronology of the Gupta Emperors as far as that particular coin-species is concerned. Almost as a natural follow-up to that, we undertook a study of what is generally referred to as the "Fire Altar" type silver (?) coins of Skandagupta, the son and successor[2] of Kumaragupta I. Coins of this type are by far the most common silver issues of Skandagupta, and are confined to Western India. Apart from being the most prolific, these coins start with a fine fabric and style, and go on to assume crude, stereo-typed features — so much so, that one hesitates to call them "silver" coins.

The basic typological features of the Fire Altar type coins are a bust on the obverse, and a device which looks very much like a Fire Altar on the reverse, and

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1. K. K. Maheshwari and Biswajeet Rath, "Garuda Type Silver Coins of Kumaragupta Reconsidered" in A. K. Jha and Sanjay Garg (ed.), *Ex Moneta, Essays on Numismatics, History and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. David W. MacDowall*, Nashik, 1995, pp. 269-91.
2. Some scholars believe that Ghatotkachagupta came immediately after Kumaragupta for a very brief rule, *cf.*, *CII*, 3, pp. 79-80.

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this gives the series its name. Apart from this central motif, the reverse also carries a circular legend, much as a continuation of the *garuda* type coins.

The Fire Altar series of Skandagupta, much like his less numerous *garuda* and Bull type coins, has drawn only a few scattered notings from numismatists, beginning with Smith[3], and later by Allan[4], Thomas[5], Altekar[6], Bajpai[7] and Chattopadhyaya[8]. Interestingly, these scholars far from concur on the identification of the reverse device. Smith, and later Bajpai, feel that it is the *garuda* standing on a pedestal. Smith's statement that the reverse has a "device as that of the winged Peacock coins of Kumaragupta" is by no means conclusive, as the depiction in either case is quite distinct from the other, and a comparison is very difficult. Bajpai sees the motif as a *garuda* with outstretched wings, but fails to elaborate any further. On the other side, we have Allan and Altekar, both of whom feel certain that it is, in fact, a Fire Altar. To add to this is the view of scholars like Thomas that, besides the possibility of it being an Altar the depiction could also signify the "conventional shrine of the sacred *tulsi* of the Hindus"[9].

The *tulsi Vrindavana* theory has not found acceptance by later authors such as Singh[10], who feel much more inclined towards the identification of the device as a Fire Altar. Singh has even speculated on the possible source of adaptation of the Fire Altar reverse. He first quotes Chattopadhyaya's[11] suggestion that Skandagupta's

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3. *Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of North India*, *JRAS*, 21, 1889, pp. 128-31.
4. *BMC, Catalogue of the Coins of Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka King of Gauda*, Oxford (Reprint 1967), p. ci-cii.
5. *JRAS, NS*, p. 262.
6. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Varanasi, 1957, pp. 254-57.
7. "Fire-Altar(?) On the Silver and Copper Coins of the Guptas", *Bulletin of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology*, University of Saugar, No. 1, 1967, pp. 71-72.
8. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "Political Significance of the Altar Type Coins of Skandagupta", *JNSI*, 27, i, pp. 36-40.
9. Thomas, as quoted in Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 129.
10. J. P. Singh, *History and Coinage of Skandagupta Kramaditya*, Monograph of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1976, pp. 85-86.
11. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *op.cit.*

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coins bearing the Fire Altar were influenced by the Sassanid coins which also bear a Fire Altar; however, soon after, Singh expresses serious doubts about this theory and ends up in a very uncertain manner on the issue[12]. We, too, feel that Chattopadhyaya's suggestion is really not borne out by the typological comparison between the Fire Altar depicted on Sassanid coins and that on Skandagupta's coins[13].

The purpose of the present paper is to make an attempt at a typological study of the coins belonging to this genre, and to add to the available literature on this type, most of which have been covered in the brief historiographical sketch above. The following study also attempts to offer a chronological sequence for the series, and this is done by establishing, as far as practicable, a coin-to-coin relationship and not by seeing a coin by itself, as is often done in numismatic studies these days.

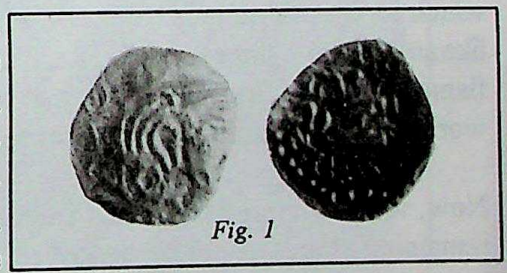

Fig. 1

The material basis in the preparation of the paper was a lot of about 200 coins of the Fire Altar type of Skandagupta[14], and a few more coins in another private collection[15]. In our initial typological classification of the coins, the obverse bust was a good clue, because several coins were observed to carry a bust very much similar[16] to the garuda type silver coins of Skandagupta. These coins are with a neat helmet which is very close in execution

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12. J. P. Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 86.
13. For that matter, although the Huna as well as the Indo-Sassanian coinages also carry the Fire-Altar, the depiction is totally different from, and should not be connected with, the Fire-Altar on Skandagupta's coins.
14. This coin-lot is in the collection of one of the authors (K. K. Maheshwari).
15. The authors are grateful to Shri Jan Lingen (Netherlands), who kindly provided the photographs of his coins of the type under study.
16. The only notable difference being that no coins of the Fire Altar type has the collared neck which was so much a part of the *garuda* type coins, *cf.*, K. K. Maheshwari and Biswajeet Rath, *op. cit.*, p. 279 for some illustrations of Skandagupta's *garuda* series.

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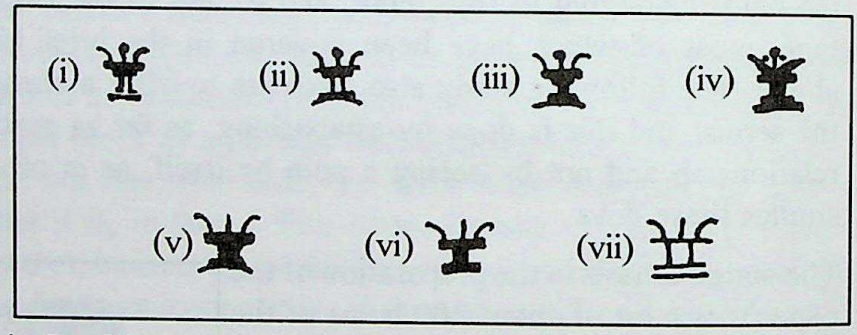
to that found on Western Kshatrapa coins, as well as Gupta silver coins upto the time of Skandagupta[17]. The reverse is also neatly executed, with fine engraving of the legend (*Paramabhagavata Sri Skandagupta Kramaditya*).

These coins should logically be among the first few issues of the series, and we shall call them *Type 1*. In the coin-lot under study, however, only eleven coins have this type of obverse bust. Nonetheless, even among those few specimens, we observed quite significant variations in the depiction of the reverse motif. There are some depictions which, indeed, look more like a winged bird on a pedestal — like the one illustrated above — and others which look definitely like an Altar with three flames shooting from it. Looking at all the coins of this type, however, we have worked out a possible typological sequence for the reverse[18].



Now, what is interesting is that stages (i) and (ii) look more like a bird, while the remaining stages could be described as a Fire Altar. In fact, this seems to have been the cause for the different views which have been expressed by earlier writers on the identification of the motif. We feel that the coin series began with a depiction of the *garuda* on a pedestal. To further this line of argument, let us turn to the gold coins of the Guptas, which have, other than the coins under study in this paper, the nearest numismatic representation of the *garuda* on a pedestal. On the 'King and Queen' type gold coins of Skandagupta, the *garuda* is depicted as , or . A comparative study of these depictions with the stages (i) and (ii) of the "Fire Altar" shows that the lower parts , consisting of the legs and

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17. Here, we have not taken into account the small, dumpy and silver-coated or practically copper coins with the name of Kumaragupta, because according to us these coins should be placed after Skandagupta, *i.e.*, to a later Kumaragupta, for details *cf.*, K. K. Maheshwari and Biswajeet Rath, *op. cit.*
18. See Plate coin nos. 1 to 7 for this reverse sequence.

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pedestal/ stand, are very similar. The body and wings are seen to be or [19] on the gold coins and on the coins with (i) reverse, as is is to be seen in the enlarged photograph below (Fig. 2). What we are arguing for is that the depic-

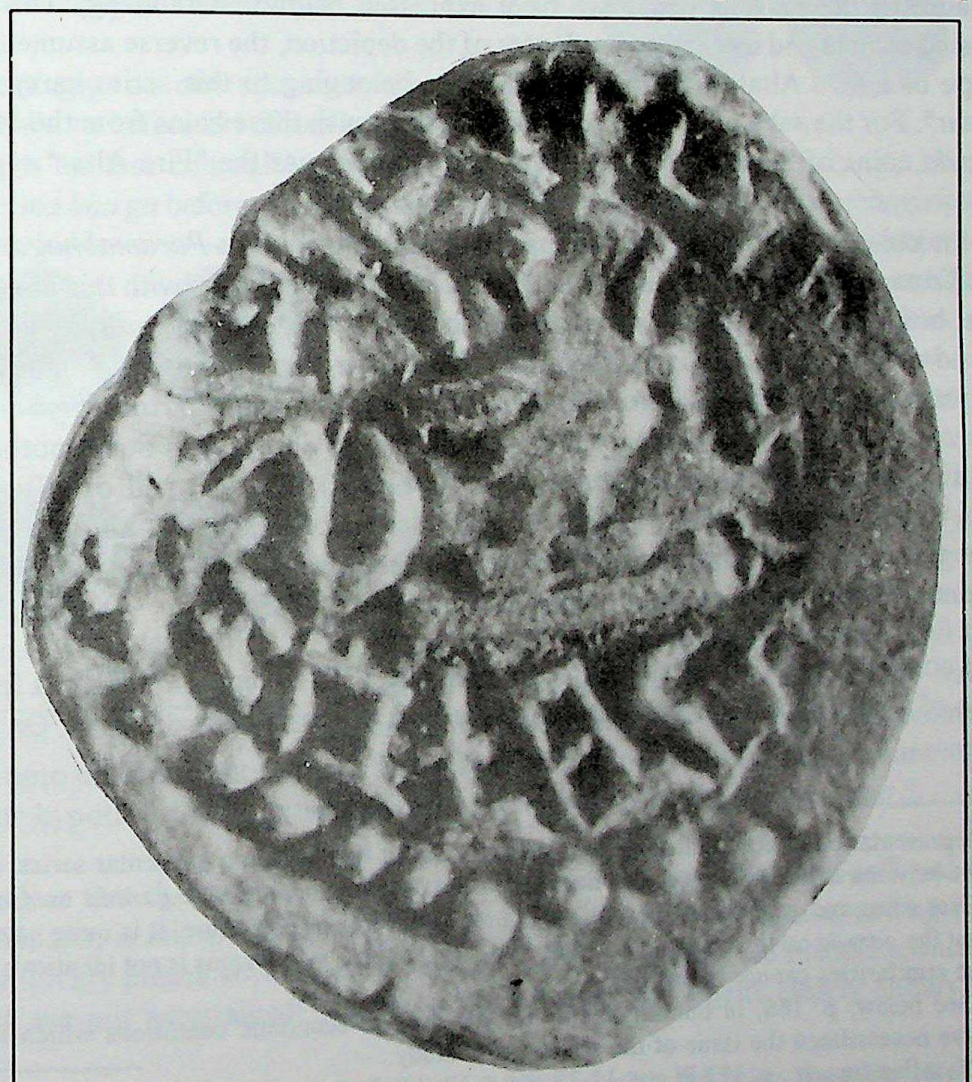

Fig. 2

19. For this depiction, see Ellen M. Raven, *Gupta Gold coins with a Garuda Banner*, 1994, Vol. II, Pl. LVIII, coin no. 156. Notice the small neck which appears, and this bears a comparison with the neck and head of the coins with our (i) and (ii) reverses.

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tions are not the ***same***[20], but they are certainly ***similar***. One might ask why, if the motif is indeed a *garuda*, was it then made different from the other *garuda* type silver coins ? The answer could lie in the fact that it was a deliberate attempt because of the reasons which we have expressed below[21]. Gradually, with the passing of time and increasing crudeness of the depiction, the reverse assumed the shape of a Fire Altar, and most of the coins belonging to this series carry this "Altar". For the sake of convenience and to distinguish these coins from the other *garuda* coins of Skandagupta, we have called this series the "Fire Altar" type.

All the coins of *Type 1* which we examined have the epithets *Paramabhagavata* and *Kramaditya*. If we take a look at the already published coins with this obverse type, however[22], one finds some coins which carry the title *Vikramaditya*, the full legend reading *Paramabhagavata Sri Vikramaditya Skandagupta*[23]. A study of the photographs of these coins shows that all the coins with *Vikramaditya* have reverses which match with stages (i), (ii), (iii) and (v) above. It is our hypothesis that the coins with *Vikramaditya*, and those with *Kramaditya* and our *Type 1* bust, were the initial (and possibly parallel) issues of this series, but at a later stage the coins with Vikramaditya petered out and only those with Kramaditya- continued with the reverses of stages (vi) and (vii)[24].

Next come the coins which we shall call our *Type 2*. These coins are distinct from those of *Type 1* insofar as the features of the bust are essentially different. On the

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20. Representation of coin motifs reflects a continuity in type within a particular series, and not between different series. For an illustration, if one compares the *garuda* on Gupta silver coins and gold coins, there is quite a lot of difference. Therefore, it is quite natural that the *garuda* on the coins under study and Skandagupta's gold coins is not identical; but the similarities cannot be ignored.
21. See below, p. 186, in our arguments for the politico-economic conditions which may have necessitated the issue of the series under study.
22. *Cf.*, Allan, *op.cit.*, p. 122 Pl. xx. 13-29, xxi.1-12; Altekar, *op.cit.*, p. 255 and Pl. xviii, 11-18.
23. Pl. xx.12-20 in Allan, *op.cit*, and Pl. xviii.11-13 in Altekar, *op.cit.*
24. It is believed by scholars like P. L. Gupta (*Gupta Samrajya*, p. 315) and N. Ahmad (*JNSI*, 30, p. 87) that the title *Kramaditya* was adapted later by Skandagupta, although their arguments have been questioned (Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 86).

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reverse, the central motif becomes stylistically static in nature. The legend is also shortened, on all coins which we examined of this type, as *Sri Skandagupta Kramaditya*.

Fig. 3

Interestingly, on one specimen, we find the letters *Pa ra* before *Sri Skandagupta* (*Fig. 4*). There is another coin (*Fig. 5*) which has the letters *ma bha ga* before *Sri*. These letters are obviously parts of *Paramabhagavata*, and it is clear that the die-cutter encountered a serious problem of space, and could accommodate only two or three letters of the epithet showing the religious inclination of the ruler. Now, we had invariably found this epithet on the coins of *Type 1* and, for that matter, even on the coins of the *garuda* type belonging to Kumaragupta and Skandagupta. The coins illustrated in *Figs. 3* and *4* should, therefore, be the intermediary stages[25] before attempts at including *Paramabhagavata* in the legend were given up altogether, and the legend was simplified to just include the name and title of the ruler. This legend pattern continues right upto the termination point of the series. Therefore, this is further substantiation to our hypothesis that coins of *Type 1* were earlier than those of *Type 2*.

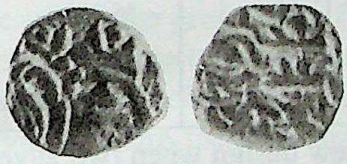

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

It is clear that the depiction of the motifs becomes increasingly crude[26] and the legend, too, is mistake-laden. The fabric is also seen to deteriorate, ending with small dumpy pieces which look practically copper. In fact, the metallic contents which we got ascertained[27] for about 20 selected specimens clearly shows the

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25. The coin of Fig. 5 has a silver content of 18.37%, which is just below the silver recorded for coins of *Type 1*, and higher than any other coin of Type 2 which was analysed; see the chemical analysis data tabulated below.
26. See Pl. Coin Nos.
27. The authors are grateful to the Birla Institute of Scientific Research, Hyderabad, for carrying out the chemical analysis of the selected coins.

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picture. Two coins of *Type 1* which were analysed[28] have silver contents of 22.14% and 21.88% (which are among the highest recorded), while eleven coins belonging to *Type 2* have a silver range of 18.37 and 0.20%.

Type	Silver (%)	Copper (%)
1	22.14	76.05
1	21.88	76.45
2	18.37	78.14
2	16.00	80.97
2	15.40	81.86
2	14.40	82.96
2	13.88	84.24
2	13.27	84.94
2	12.26	85.25
2	12.00	85.60
2	11.53	86.01
2	2.70	95.62
2	0.20	96.25

Now, what comes as something of a surprise is the significantly low silver content for this series. Analysis of six of Skandagupta's *garuda* type coins had shown[29] that they had a much healthier silver percentage of 81 to 75%. Another equally perplexing question is — what was the necessity for issuing a coin type with a new design when two silver coin types of the same ruler, *viz.*, the *garuda* and Bull types, were already concurrent in the same broad geographical area? We feel that both these questions are tied up with one another, and to try and answer them, one has to take cognizance of certain politico-economic factors reigning at the time.

Skandagupta's known dates from inscriptions of his period fall between Gupta Era 136 and 148 (*i.e.*, AD 454-55 to 466-67). The first couple of these years seem to have been a period of recovery and consolidation from the troublesome circumstances surrounding his accession. From the Bhitari Pillar Inscription, we learn about the serious conflict which Skandagupta had with the Hunas. Now, it would appear that the Hunas were repelled around the Gupta Era year 136 (*i.e.*, AD 456-57)[30]. However, it is highly likely that a foreign invasion of that nature by the infamous Hunas left far-reaching repercussions which were felt throughout the later-Skandagupta and post-Skandagupta periods. All this is what may be inferred from the records, and keeping them in mind, we may surmise that the *garuda* type coins of Skandagupta with a high silver content were issued in the

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28. See plate coin nos. 1 and 3.
29. See K. K. Maheshwari and B. Rath, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
30. *CII*, 3, p. 81.

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short period between *c.* AD 454-57, and are therefore very few in number. Following the Huna invasion, however, it is quite possible that Skangagupta was forced to issue a new coin type with a dramatically reduced precious metal content.

However, there are certain typological clues which provide a more plausible answer. For this, we have to briefly return at this juncture to the *garuda* type coins of Kumaragupta which continued to circulate well beyond the time of Kumaragupta I[31]. The last typological stage with the collared bust had a silver percentage of 78.89%, and the typological indications[32] are that these coins served as the proto-types for Skandagupta's own issues of the *garuda* type. The following coin types of Kumaragupta have a beaded border[33]. Interestingly, none of the coins of the Fire Altar type have a collared neck. In those coins of *Type 1* where the neck line is visible, it is seen to be a beaded border. Further, there are certain obverses of Kumaragupta's coins with the beaded border which are typologically very close to some of the best specimens of the Fire Altar type

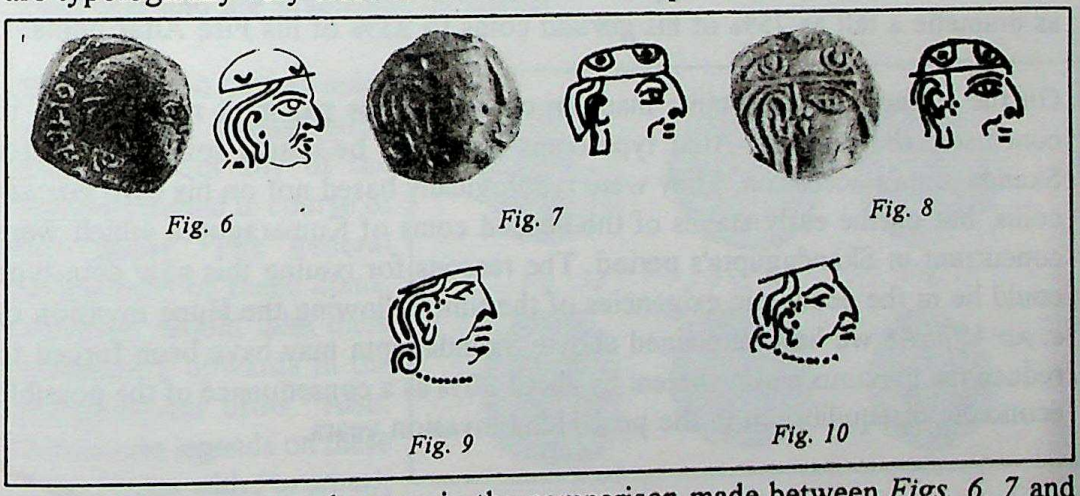

Fig. 6 *Fig. 7* *Fig. 8*

Fig. 9 *Fig. 10*

of Skandagupta as can be seen in the comparison made between *Figs. 6*, *7* and *8* on the one hand and *Figs. 9* and *10* on the other. *Figs.* 6 and 9 are coins of

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31. As classified by us earlier, *cf.* K. K. Maheshwari and Biswajeet Rath, *op. cit.*, p. 274, Type 1.8.

32. *Ibid.* Especially compare the reverse garudas between Kumaragupta's Type 1.8 and Skandagupta's coins, which appear very similar:

33. *Ibid.*, Types 2.1-2.7.

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Kumaragupta, while *Figs.* 7, 8 and 10 are those of Skandagupta's Fire Altar type. In *Figs. 6* and *7* there are two crescents in the helmet, the eye is , and there is no ∴ near the ear. *Fig. 8* has a similar bust, but ∴ makes an appearance near the ear. The three dots are also seen in *Figs. 9* and *10*, which also have a beaded border. This tri-dotted design is found on all other coins of the Fire Altar type, right down to the end of the series.

Therefore, it is clear that the Fire Altar coins were based on the Kumaragupta *garuda* coins with the beaded border which were in circulation even in the time of Skandagupta. As further proof, let us compare the silver presence for these two series. *Figs. 6* and *9* (Kumaragupta's coins) have a silver percentage of 60-50% and 48% respectively[34], while *Fig. 8* (Skandagupta's coin) has a silver content of 23%. Unfortunately, we do not have any coin with the title *Vikramaditya*. However, this explanation would lead one to suggest that the actual reduction in silver content which was effected by Skandagupta, following the Huna invasion, for the Altar type coins may have been 30% at the most; and not as dramatic a fall as 75% of his *garuda* coins to 23% of his Fire Altar coins.

On the strength of the points made in course of this paper, it may be said in conclusion that the Fire-Altar type coins started to be issued some years after Skandagupta's accession. They were typologically based not on his own *garuda* coins, but on the early stages of the beaded coins of Kumaragupta which were concurrent in Skandagupta's period. The reasons for issuing this new coin-type could lie in the economic exigencies of the time following the Huna invasion of *c.* AD 457. As we have explained above, Skandagupta may have been forced to reduce the precious metal content by about 30% as a consequence of the possible economic disequilibrium in the post-Huna invasion years.

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34. For *Fig. 6*, see *ibid.*, Type 2.1 which has a silver content of 61.62% and 58.51%, and *idem.*, p. 283, coin type 9 which has 50.45% and 49.36% silver. For *Fig. 9*, see *idem.*, p. 275, Type 2.3.

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APPENDIX : Some Uncertain Coin-Varieties

Besides the *Types 1* and *2* above, we also came across certain coins[35] which are typologically close to *Type 2*, but have a different bust insofar as the head-dress is rounded, as shown in *Fig. 11* alongside. We are not entirely sure as to whether these coins are to be placed before, or after, the coins of *Type 2*. However, it may tentatively be said that they form a variety of *Type 2*, but do not appear to have continued till the end of the series. This is because the fabric of these coins is much better than some of the coins of *Type 2* which reflect the last stage of the Fire Altar and are practically of copper[36].

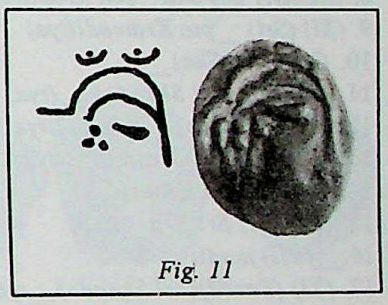

Fig. 11

There are also certain coins which have busts quite different from any of the types discussed in course of this paper. The general appearance of these coins, however, would take them somewhere upwards in the chronological order. Also, the reverse legends on these coins begins with *Para(ma)*, which is found only on coins of our *Type 1*. The Fire-Altar on the reverse of one coin[37] looks more like a trident or *trishul* ψ.

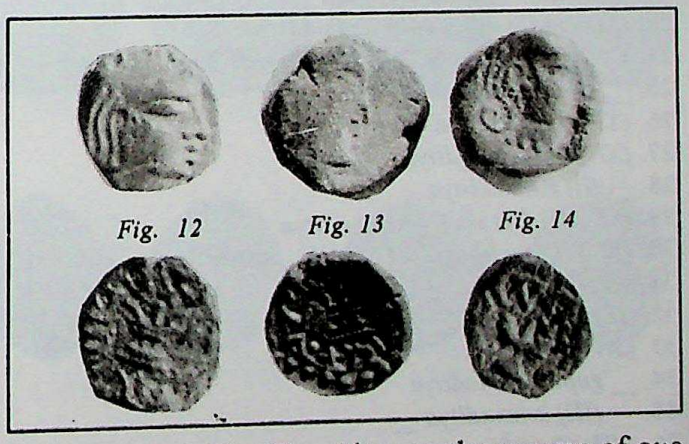

Fig. 12 *Fig. 13* *Fig. 14*

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35. See Plate coin nos. 25 and 26.
36. For example, see plate coin nos. 32 and 33, which are 95.62% and 96.25% copper.
37. See plate coin no. 40.

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Key to Plates

1. *(X) Paramabhagava__gupta Kramaditya*
2. *(X) Paramabhagavata Sri (Ska)__(tya)*
3. *__ (XI) (ra)mabhagavata Sri Skanda__*
4. *(X) Paramabha__pta Kramaditya*
5. *(XI) __(gava)ta Sri Skandagupta (Kra)__*
6. *__ (XII-I) (ga)vata Sri Skandagupta*
7. *(XII) Sri (Ska)__gupta (Kramadi)tya*
8. *(XI-XII) Sri Ska__pta Kramaditya*
9. *(XI) (Sri) __pta Kramadi(tya)*
10. *(XI) (Sri Ska)__*
11. *(XI-XII) (Sri Skanda) __(tya)*
12. (XII) (Sri Ska)__ *Kramaditya*
13. *(XI-XII) Sri Ska(nda)__tya*
14. *__(II)gupta Krama__*
15. (XI-XII) *Sri Ska__(tya)*
16. *__(VII) maditya*
17. *(XI) (Para?)(Sri Skanda)__tya*
18. *(XI-XII) Sri Skanda(gu)__*
19. *(XI-XII) Sri Skandagu(pta)__*
20. *(XI) (Sri) Skandagupta Kra__*
21. *__ (III) gupta Krama(ditya Sri) __*
22. *__ (XI) Skandagupta Krama__*
23. *(XI) Sri (Ska)__gupta Kramaditya*
24. *Paramabhagavata Sri Skandagupta Kramaditya*
25. *__ (III)gupta Kramaditya*
26. *(XI - XII) Sri Ska__tya*
27. *(XII) Srī Ska__ditya*
28. *__ (II) Kramaditya*
29. *(XI_XII) (Sri ska)__Kramaditya*
30. *(XI-XII) ma bhaga Sri Skanda__ditya*
31. *illegible*
32. *(IX) (Para?) (Sri)__Kramaditya*
33. *(Sri Ska?)__*
34. *__ gupta kramaditya*
35. *__ (III) kramaditya __*
36. *(XII) (Para?)__*
37. *__ (IX) ditya*
38. *(XI) Sri Ska__*
39. *(XII) Sri Skandagupta __*
40. *(III) pta Krama__*
41. *illegible*
42. *(XII) Skandagu__*
43. *__(III) gupta__*
44. *(XII)Sri Skandagupta__*
45. *__(I) Skandagupta__*

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16 17 18

19 20 21

22 23 24

25 26 27

28 29 30

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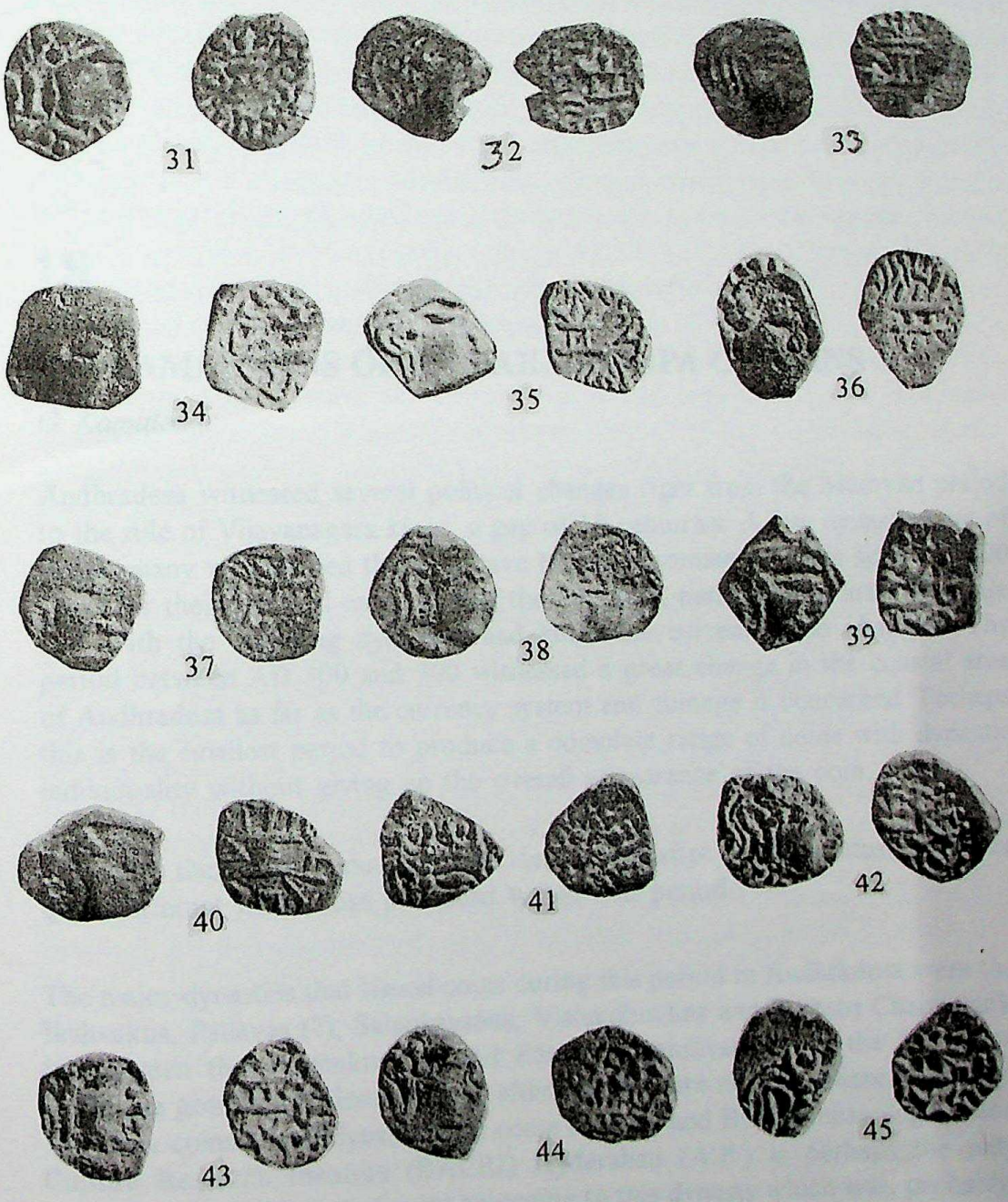

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18

SRI RAMA COINS OF RAMAKASHYAPA GOTRINS

G. Kamalakar

Andhradesa witnessed several political changes right from the Mauryan period to the rule of Vijayanagara kings, a gap of 18 centuries. A few dynasties out of the so many which ruled the area have become prominent in this span of 1800 years for their political expansion of the kingdom, patronage of arts, literature *etc*. With the changing dynasties and kings the currency also changed. The period between AD 300 and 700 witnessed a great change in the coastal area of Andhradesa as far as the currency system and coinage is concerned. Perhaps this is the smallest period to produce a complete range of coins with dynastic individuality without giving up the overall appearance of the coin.

The coins that were produced before the 3rd and after the 7th centuries AD are quite different from those produced within that period.

The major dynasties that issued coins during this period in Andhradesa were the Ikshvakus, Pallavas (?), Salankayanas, Vishnukundins and Eastern Chalukyans. In between the Vishnukundins and Eastern Chalukyans were the Sri Rama Kashyapa gotrins who issued coins, although they are not prominent in history. Very few coins of this dynasty have come to light, and Birla Archaeological and Culture Research Institute (BACRI) Hyderabad (A.P.) is perhaps the only Institute to have a hoard of coins belonging to this dynasty which was, probably, a feudatory dynasty of Vishnukundins and subsequently became independent.

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During the year 1985, BACRI acquired a hoard of 2,600 coins from a coin dealer. According to the coin dealer, the hoard is from an unknown area of West Godavari / Krishna districts of Andhra Pradesh. The hoard was acquired under the impression that these coins belong to the Vishnukundin dynasty, since in their general appearance they are very similar to the Vishnukundin coins and, true to the quality of Vishnukundin coins, are heavily rusted with more iron content. On the obverse a lion is depicted in standing posture to the left within a circular dotted border and the reverse has a vase on stand with a trident on either side within a circular rayed border. On careful examination and cleaning of the coins, minor details started appearing on the coins. The obverse side contained a legend *Sri Ra Ma*, either in full or in part, in 7th century Brahmi characters above the figure of the lion. Before the letter *Sri* is a symbol ( ), perhaps indicating a sword. In front of the lion is a small "double *ya*" symbol on some of the coins. Although the obverse and reverse symbols appear close to the Vishnukundin issues, the legend *Sri Ra Ma* demanded attention, and prompted us to take up the study of the hoard.

The first factor that emerged to rule out the possibility of their affiliation to the Vishnukundins is the legend *Sri Ra Ma*. In all the known inscriptions of the Vishnukundin kings, they claim to be the devotees who worshipped at the feet of Lord Sri Parvatasvami (*Sri Parvataswami pada Anuddhyato...*), obviously refering to lord Shiva (*Mallikarjuna*) of Srisaila. These inscriptions without doubt mention Vishnukundin kings as strong patrons of Saivism, while the legend *Sri Ra Ma* clearly indicates a Vaishnavite affinity. This precludes the possibility of these coins being issued by the Vishnukundin kings themselves. But the find spot of the coins (Krishna / Godavari districts), physical appearance and symbols definitely suggest some links with the Vishnukundin coinage. The Brahmi characters of *Sri Ra Ma* also suggest a date for these coins close to the Vishnukundin period. Even the metallurgy of these coins closely resembles that of the known Vishnukundin coins. In the light of these factors, the history of the contemporary ruling families was taken up for any possible clues.

The Vishnukundin genealogy and chronology were themselves a great mystery till recent times because of the use of the name "Madhavavarman" by more than one king. Although several scholars like D. C. Sircar, H. Krishna Sastri, K. V.

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Lakshmana Rao, Hultzsch and K. A. Nilakantha Sastri have reconstructed the genealogy and chronology of Vishnukundins on the basis of inscriptions, their explanations suffer from certain lacunae and fail to give a convincing answer. On the other hand, Sankaranarayanan's study of the Vishnukundin inscriptions and his proposed genealogy and chronology for the dynasty answers all queries in a much more convincing manner. According to Sankarnayanan, the dynasty started with Indravarman (*c.* AD 375-400) and ruled over full or part of the coastal Andhradesa, particularly in and round Vengidesa (present Krishna / west Godavari districts of AP) till AD 612. The genealogy and chronology propounded by Sankaranarayanan is given below:

1. Indravarman *c.* AD 375-400.
2. Madhavavarman I *c.* AD 400-22.
3. Govindavarman I *c.* AD 422-62.
   (of the Tummalagudem set I dated 37th year)
4. Madhavavarman *c.* AD 462-502.
   (Velpuru inscription, year 333, Ipur set I, year 37 and Khanapur plates)

Devavarman — Madhavavarman III (Ipur set II, Year 47)

5. Vikramendravarman I *c.* AD 502-27

Manchyanna bhattaraka

Son or Grandson?

6. Indrabhattarakavarman (Satyasreya) *c.* AD 527-55 (Ramatirtham Plates, year 27)

7. Vikramendravarman II *c.* AD 555-572 (the Chikkulla plates, year 10, Tummalagudem set II, year 11 and Kandulapalem plates, year 14.) — An unmarried son?

Govindavarman II (Vikramasreya)

8. Madhavavarman IV (Janasreya) *c.* AD 564-612 (Polamuru set I year 48)

Govinda (son ?)

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Now looking at the history, geneological and chronological table propounded by Sankaranarayanan, the circumstances were favorable for the rise of the feudal powers arose during the reign of Vikramendravarman. It is evident from the records Vikramendravarman's achievements were poor compared to the preceding and succeeding kings of the dynasty. By the time of Vikramendravarman, the Vishnukundin empire was already divided with Madhavavarman III being appointed by Madhavavarman II as governor and ruling a collateral area to the south Vengi. Vikramendravarman was succeeded by Indrabhattarakavarman around AD 527, and during the reign of this king we have information about the rise of feudal powers. This information is based on two sets of grants issued by Prithvimula II who was also a feudal lord under the Vishnukundin empire[1]. The confederacy appears to have been supported by Gangas and Vakatakas, besides many feudal lords. At this time, there was the possibility for the rise of Ranadurjaya, the Sri Rama Kashyapa gotrin and a feudal lord. After the successful confederacy against the Vishnukundin overlord, Ranadurjaya appears to have declared independence in the Pistapura region. Subsequent history indicates that the Vishnukundin rulers might have entered into the friendly terms with the Rama Kashyapas as there is no indication that there was any battle between the Vishnukundins and Rama Kashyapas. In a subsequent campaign, Indrabhattarakavarman crossed the Rama Kashyapa territory (Pistapura) upto Kalinga border (Ramatirtham Plates), but there is no indication of any conflict with the Ramakashyapa ruler. This goes to indicate the friendly relations of the Vishnukundins with the Rama Kashyapas.

It is not clear whether the Rama Kashyapa rulers ruled as independent rulers or were again subjugated by Indrabhattarakavarman to the status of feudal lords during the later part of his rule. However, it is evident that the Rama Kashyapas ruled the Pistapura region till AD 616. The area was then taken into control by the invading Chalukyan ruler Pulakesi II from the ruling Rama Kashyapa king, Prithvimaharaja[2].

It is quite evident from the two grants issued by Prithvimaharaja that the area between upper Vengi and the Kalinga border was under his control between AD 612-616.

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1. See Godavari Plates Set 1 & II.
2. *Epigraphia Indica*, 23, p. 96.

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Now coming to the coins under question and their ascription to the Rama Kashyapa king Prithvimaharaja, there are two points in favour of this argument, and both these are related to the general principle of continuity of coinage traditions of the area and the typology and characters on the coins. It is quite established that lion vase coins are Vishnukundin issues which were in wide circulation in the area of their rule. We may trace the origin of the Vishnukundin coin type from the Salankayana coins because of the basic design of dotted circle on the obverse and rayed circle on the reverse. It is an established fact that the Vishnukundins took over the rule from the Salankayanas in the coastal region. It was a regular practice to maintain the similarity of the coins for easy circulation. In this process, Vishnukundins replaced the figure of bull on the obverse with the lion and the reverse symbol of conch or vase remained as it is. Minor symbols like "double *ya*" *etc.* are not prominent enough to attract the eye. Similarly, when the Rama Kashyapa king Prithvimaharaja issued his own coinage, perhaps at the fag end of his rule, he too followed the similar practice of maintaining the physical appearance of the coins then in circulation, *viz.*, the Vishnukundin issues. As a distinctive mark to his coinage, he added the characters *Sri Ra Ma* on the top of the lion figure on the obverse. The minor symbol of sword before the letter *Sri* is not so prominent as to catch the eye. This way he has introduced a new type of coinage similar in appearance to the existing coinage.

In all probability, the coins should be ascribed to the third generation of Rama Kashyapa gotrins, that is, Prithvimaharaja, grandson of Ranadurjaya, and may have been issued between AD 612-616, as were the two grants which were issued by the same king in his 46th and 49th regnal years respectively. Both the grants were donative in nature. The second one was issued from the victorious war camp of Virajonagara situated in Kalinga. Looking at the political conditions in Vengidesa during the period, Madhavavarman IV, the last powerful ruler of the Vishnukundin line, was ruling upto AD 612 according to the Polamuru Plates sets issued by him in his 48th regnal year. The plates inform us that he was on a campaign and crossed / crossing river Godavari, thereby indicating that he was already in the Rama Kashyapa territory. Subsequently, nothing is known about the Vishnukundin king. In the same year, Prithvimaharaja issued the Tandivada grant indicating his full control over and around Pistapura region. It is evident from this that Vengi was out of Vishnukundin control by AD

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612, as there is no subsequent record pertaining to the Vishnukundin rule. The Marutura grant of Pulakesi II mentions the Vengi region of that period as a land of plunder with chaotic conditions.

Circumstances were quite favorable to the Ramakashyap king Prithvimaharaja to declare total independence (if not declared earlier) and to expand the kingdom towards Kalinga also. It is only during this period that there is every likelihood of his issuing coins. Although Ranadurjaya declared independence earlier, we are not sure whether he was able to retain the kingdom in the subsequent period or became a vassal to the Vishnukundin rulers again. We are not informed about the son of Ranadurjaya *i.e.*, father of Prithvimaharaja, in the grants. In all probability, Ranadurjaya ruled for a long period and was succeeded by his grandson Prithvimaharaja directly. There are no known grants of either Ranadurjaya or his son Vikramendra so far. Prithvimaharaja's two grants also mention Ranadurjaya with a prefix *Maharaja* but Vikramendra, the father of Prithvimaharaja, is not prefixed even with the title *rajan*. *Sri Ra Ma* is part of their gotra name and also the two grants peculiarly suggest the issuer as *parama brahmanyo*[3] who prays at the feet of his parents. In contrast, the Vishnukundin kings style themselves in their inscriptions as those who pray at the feet of Sri Parvata Swamy.

Morrison and Kothari[4] ascribe these coins to the Vishnukundins, and take *Sri Ra Ma* on the obverse to be their family lord. It would be incorrect to say so, as Vishnukundins were strong Saivites. The patronage of the Vishnukundin family towards Buddhism is known, but there is nothing to to show their affiliation towards Vaishnavism. Hence, the coins under discussion may be safely ascribed to the Rama Kashyapa ruler Prithvimaharaja probably issued sometime between AD 612-616. The short life of the Sri Rama Kashyapa coinage is indicated by the availability of less number of these coins, as well as the lack of varieties. The only variations seen on the obverse occur due to the shifting of the die, or minor die variations.

The letters *Sri Ra Ma* on the coins are exactly similar to the *Sri Ra Ma* of *gotra* name found on the two grants[5] issued by Prithvimaharaja.

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3. Gallavalli grant, text line 6 and Tandivada grant, text line 7.
4. *ND*, 12 & 13, 1988-89, p. 65.

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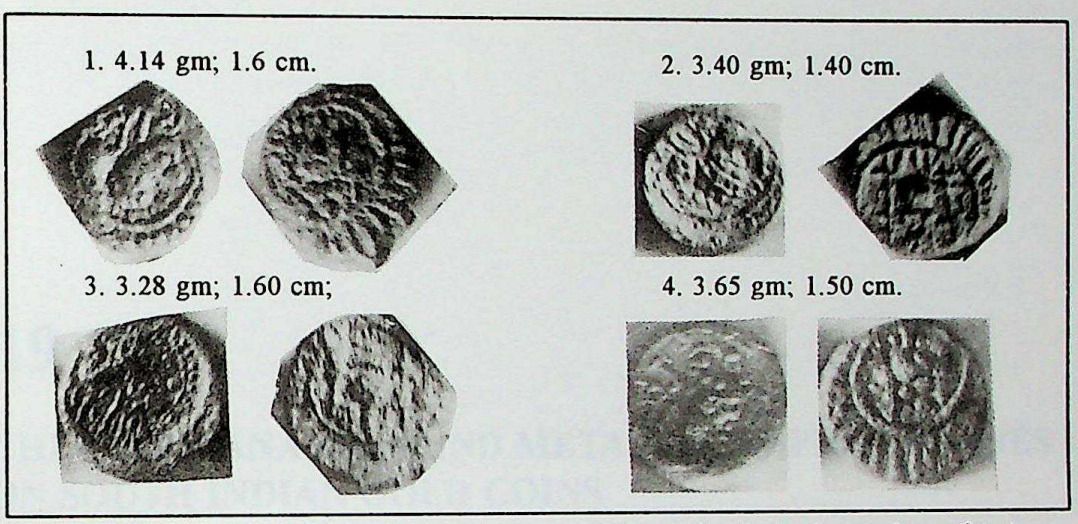

The average weight of the coins at 3.6 gm. and the size is in the region of 1.6 cm. These values are very close to the existing smaller denomination coins of Vishnukundins during that period. The chemical composition of the metal also indicates close resemblence to that of the Vishnukundin coins, with two major, one minor and a few trace elements. The two major elements are copper and tin and the minor element is iron. The trace elements noticed are cobalt, lead, silver and cromium.

The coins are found to be copper-tin bronze. The hardening of the coin is due to iron) and intentional addition of tin for improving the quality of the metal[6]. The possible source of the metal ore may have been Agnigundala, a copper mine in neighboring Guntur district since ancient days.

Lastly, after the Pistapura region was conquered by Pulakesi II in AD 616, Pulakesi also followed the usual practice of issuing his coinage similar to the one existing in the region. Thus, the subsequent Eastern Chalukyan coins look similar to the Rama Kashyapa coins, but for the legend *Vi Sha Ma Si Ddhi* on the obverse in place of *Sri Ra Ma* and the "double *ya*" symbol in a rayed circle on the reverse. All these factors allow us to ascribe the coins to Prithvimaharaja of the Rama Kashyapa Gotra clan.

5. Gallavalli grant, text line 5 and Tandivada grant, text line 6.
6. The author is grateful to V. Pandit Rao of Birla Institute of Scientific Research (BISR), Hyderabad, who carried out the chemical analysis of Vishnukundin and Sri Rama Kashyapa coins in BISR laboratories.

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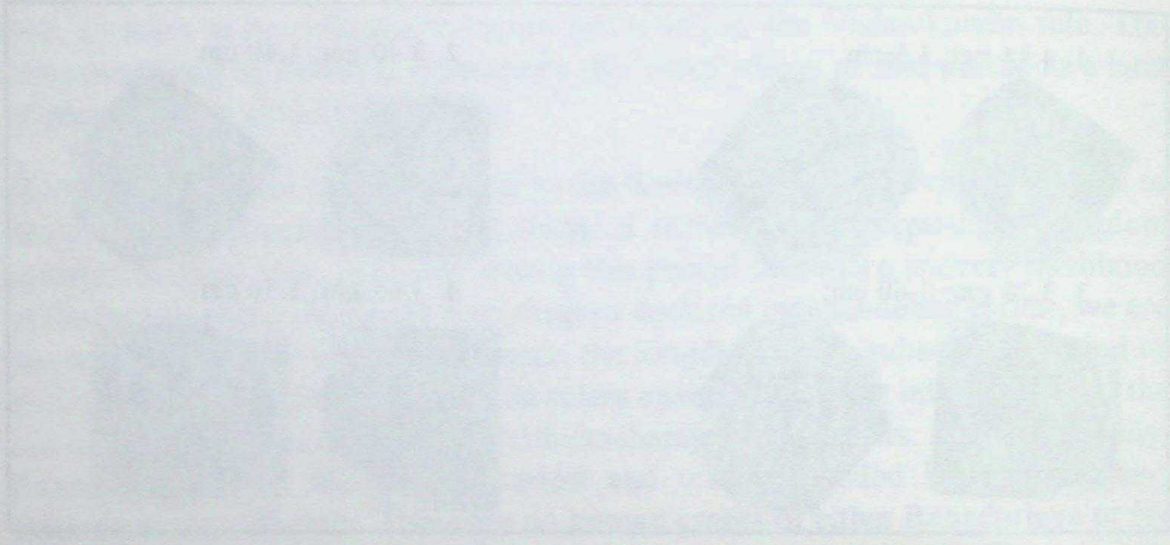

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19

CHEMICAL ANALYSIS AND METALLOGRAPHIC STUDIES ON SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINS

V. Pandit Rao & B. Naga Padma

Abstract

Forty ancient gold coins from South India were analysed physically and chemically by Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry and Inductively Coupled Plasma Spectrometry and classified into different categories. The variations in the silver and copper percentages from one Group to another were examined. In some coins, silver and copper are found to be more and the coins contain number of trace elements. Microstructural studies also have been carried out on some coins.

Introduction

The study of the ancient coin composition provides important information about historical, economic and technological facts. In South India, Mysore, Hyderabad and Madras were famous for gold production since ancient times[1]. Since early historical times, gold was supplied to the rest of India from these places. Harappans also got their gold from here for their ornaments as these ornaments contain substantial amount of silver with gold, a type of alloy which is said to be found only in the Kolar gold fields of Mysore and near Madras[2].

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1. J. Marshal, *Taxila*, 2, Cambridge, 1951, p. 620.
2. Upendra Thakur, *JNSI*, 39, 1977, p. 89.

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In South India, a large number of gold coins have come to light but there is very little analytical data[3] on these coins. The Birla Archaeological & Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad has a collection of about forty South Indian gold coins (*Plate 1*). The present study involves the alloy composition, micro-structure and classification of these forty coins.

Experimental

All the coins were cleaned with soap water, demineralised water and finally with acetone to remove dirt and oily material from the surface of the coins.

Coin samples of about 5 mg. required for chemical analysis was taken from the edge of each coin after removing surface incrustations carefully with the help of micro-driller. The coin sample thus collected for chemical analysis was very small (3-5 mg.) compared to its weight. The quantitative chemical analyses were carried out using an Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometer and simultaneous / sequential Inductively Coupled Plasma (ICP/IES). Micro-structural studies were carried out on the rim of the coin after polishing and etching in dilute *aqua regia*.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the physical measurements of the coins. Coin nos. 16 to 29 are very thin and smaller than the other coins (Chart 2-3). The average weight of these small coins is about 0.34 gm. and average maximum and minimum diameters are 7.9 and 7.4 mm respectively and thickness is 0.9 mm. The weights of coin nos. 12-15, 42, 45 and 58 are in the range of 1.62 to 1.66 gm.. The average weight of the remaining coins except coin nos. 35 and 38, is 3.38 gm., and their average maximum and minimum diameters are 11.7 and 11.11 mm respectively and the average thickness is 3.0 mm. Coin nos. 35 and 38 are larger and heavier (Charts 2 & 3) when compared with all other coins studied. The trend of coins weight s (Chart 1) and physical measurement data shows that all these coins can be categorized into four Groups, *i.e.*, coin nos. 16 to 29 — Group I; 12-15, 42, 45, 58 — Group II; 38, 39 to 41, 43, 44, 46-57 — Group III; 38-41, 43, 44, 46-57 — Group III and 35 — Group IV (Table 4).

Table 2 contains the chemical composition of the coins and Table 3 contains ICP data. The main constituents for the coins are gold-silver-copper (Chart 4). The

3. V. Jeyaraj, *JNSI*, 43, 1981, p. 132.

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analytical values show 23.68 to 30.94% silver, 8.13 to 13.92% copper, and the remaining gold for Group I (small coins) which are classified on the basis of physical data. It appears that the silver-copper ratio is not well maintained for all the coins of this Group (Chart 5).

On close observation of silver-copper ratio (Chart 5) Group I coins again may be divided into four more classes (Table 4). The analytical data and silver-copper ratio (Chart 4 & 5) clearly show that coin no. 18 can be separated from all the coins of this Group.

Group II coins may also be divided into three classes (Table 4). They have a silver content of 0.39 to 1.23 % and coin no. 15 seems to be different from the other coins.

Silver-copper ratio also divides Group III into three classes *i.e.* silver-copper ratio between 0.09 and 0.15 as Class A, 0.17 to 0.21 as Class B and 0.96 to 1.48 as Class C.

Chart 4 and Table 2 clearly show that coin nos. 15 and 35-58 contain gold between 95 and 98%, and coin nos. 38-40 and 43 are of pure gold (98.55%). It is more clear from Chart 7 that all the coins can be divided into three main groups and there is a gradual debasement of the gold coins of Group III to Group I. The Group I (coins nos. 16-29) coins are not only small in size but also debased more with silver and copper.

Lead is present as impurity in all coins except in coin nos. 50, 53 and 54. From the silver *vs.* lead scatterogram (Chart 6) it appears that for coin nos. 12-15 and 35-58, lead has come from the copper but not from the silver as these coins contain very little silver. For the remaining coins, presence of lead may be due to the use of argentiferous galena.

The polished edge of coin no. 24, etched with much difficulty in diluted aqua regia (Fig 1), shows a typically worked metal sheet with much elongated dark grains and some cracks. This indicates that the cast alloy was hammered to make a sheet in cold and punched in same cold condition. The cracks in the microstructure also indicate more cold hammering without heating the alloy.

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The microstructure of coin no. 45 shows equi-axed grains with prominent twins. The twin grains were deformed by working after the final annealing. The coin has been worked rather more heavily, as the grain size is smaller.

Conclusions

1. On the basis of physical and chemical analyses, all the gold coins were divided into different Groups and Classes.
2. All the gold coins were debased with silver and copper intentionally.
3. The gold content increased upto 98.5% in some coins of Group II.
4. The Group I coins are not only thin and small in size, but these were also debased more with silver and copper. From the micro-structural study, it appears that the manufacturing technique of these small coins is also different from that of other coins.
5. Arsenic containing ores were used for extraction of metals.
6. Physical and chemical data of coin no. 35 are completely different from that of all other coins studied.

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Table 1. Physical Measurements Data of South Indian Gold Coins

Coin No.	Weight (gm.)	Dia. Max (cm.)	Dia. Min. (cm.)	Thickness
12	1.661	0.94	0.92	0.23
13	1.632	0.91	0.89	0.23
14	1.626	0.93	0.92	0.23
15	1.659	1.03	0.96	0.26
16	0.324	0.81	0.75	0.10
17	0.357	0.77	0.70	0.09
18	0.357	0.84	0.70	0.08
19	0.292	0.79	0.75	0.09
20	0.368	0.82	0.78	0.09
21	0.357	0.73	0.69	0.09
22	0.351	0.80	0.77	0.08
23	0.315	0.82	0.77	0.10
24	0.329	0.80	0.76	0.09
25	0.372	0.78	0.72	0.09
26	0.299	0.84	0.78	0.08
27	0.361	0.75	0.74	0.09
28	0.347	0.80	0.75	0.09
29	0.375	0.79	0.77	0.08
35	3.569	2.04	1.90	0.12
38	3.567	1.18	1.12	0.35
39	3.389	1.18	1.12	0.32
40	3.397	1.15	1.10	0.34
41	3.358	1.14	1.07	0.37
42	1.661	1.02	1.98	0.23
43	3.357	1.17	1.15	0.30
44	3.389	1.12	1.10	0.30
45	1.644	0.97	0.90	0.19
46	3.399	1.10	1.00	0.32
47	3.426	1.22	1.10	0.30
48	3.374	1.20	1.10	0.29
49	3.399	1.18	1.14	0.31
50	3.382	1.25	1.15	0.29
51	3.424	1.18	1.10	0.30
52	3.404	1.15	1.14	0.28
53	3.383	1.15	1.10	0.32
54	3.299	1.23	1.15	0.22
55	3.409	1.14	1.08	0.31
56	3.398	1.22	1.14	0.29
57	3.382	1.15	1.13	0.32
58	1.666	1.04	1.00	0.19

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Table 2. Chemical Analysis Data of South Indian Gold Coins

Coin No.	Au (%)	Ag (%)	Cu (%)	Pb (%)	Fe (%)	Ag/Cu
12	88.73	0.65	9.92	0.15	0.05	0.065
13	89.21	0.46	9.77	0.08	0.08	0.047
14	88.59	0.54	10.33	0.07	0.07	0.052
15	94.61	1.23	3.38	0.15	0.23	0.363
16	59.45	26.75	12.83	0.26	0.13	2.084
17	64.19	25.50	9.50	0 27	0.14	2.684
18	53.17	35.42	10.53	0.35	0.13	3.360
19	64.02	24.70	10.58	0 20	0.20	2.330
20	63.70	25.03	9.04	0 21	0.26	2.662
21	63.38	24.35	10.21	0.42	0.74	2.385
22	64.08	24.68	10.48	0 16	-	2.354
23	58.50	26.70	13.95	0,12	0.12	1.914
24	59.67	27.35	12.55	0.17	0.06	2.179
25	58.13	31.05	10.13	0.17	0.12	3.065
26	57.19	28.20	13.92	0.26	0.13	2.026
27	58.06	31.06	10.04	0.12	0.05	3.093
28	58.24	30.94	10.00	0.10	0.25	3.094
29	64.20	24.85	10.05	0.20	0.12	2.472
35	96.61	0.62	1.97	0.26	0.16	0.314
38	98.40	0.48	0.50	0.15	0.05	0.960
39	98.52	0.59	0.30	0.15	0.06	1.966
40	98.56	0.52	0.35	0.16	0.07	1.485
41	94.00	0.70	4.40	0.33	0.20	1.485
42	95.09	0.59	3.45	0.09	0.18	0.171
43	98.45	0.50	0.39	0.15	0.05	1.282
44	96.05	0.27	2.86	0.14	0.25	0.094
45	95.27	0.51	3.36	0.18	0.18	0.151
46	96.24	0.45	2.90	0.22	0.20	0.155
47	96.30	0.30	2.52	0.16	0.12	0.119
48	95.72	0.29	3.25	0.25	0.12	0.089
49	95.22	0.28	3.06	0.31	0.03	0.091
50	96.58	0.29	2.37	-	0.20	0.122
51	95.45	0.30	3.55	0.20	0.10	0.084
52	96.05	0.36	2.85	0.13	0.05	0.126
53	95.80	0.27	3.30	-	0.08	0.082
54	96.08	0.49	2.75	-	0.20	0.178
55	95.35	0.38	3.54	0.10	0.12	0.107
56	95.12	0.40	3.75	0.22	0.05	0.106
57	95.03	0.75	3.60	0.15	0.02	0.208
58	96.34	0.39	2.56	0.10	0.20	0.152

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Table 3. Chemical Analysis Data of South Indian Gold Coins

Coin No.	Sn (%)	As (%)	Mo (%)	Sb (%)	W (%)	Zn (%)	Bi (%)	Cd (%)	Co (%)
13	0.99	0.12	-	-	0.003	0.07	-	-	-
19	1.12	0.15	0.003	-	-	0.05	-	-	-
28	0.83	0.17	-	-	0.03	0.03	-	-	-
46	0.34	0.05	0.008	0.11	0.005	0.03	0.05	0.17	0.02
58	0.16	0.05	0.01	0.014	0.005	0.04	0.19	-	0.006

Coin No.	Ni (%)	Ba (%)	Mn (%)	Cr (%)	Al (%)	V (%)	Ti (%)	Zr (%)	Sr (%)
13	-	0.07	-	0.08	1.100	-	-	-	-
19	-	0.008	-	0.12	1.400	-	-	-	-
28	0.013	0.002	-	0.09	0.050	0.003	0.024	-	-
46	0.004	0.008	0.002	0.002	0.830	-	2.700	0.005	0.002
58	0.060	0.009	0.005	0.114	1.317	0.006	0.007	0.001	0.003

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Table 4. Classification of South Indian Gold Coins

Group I	***Coin Numbers 16 to 29***
16, 23, 24, 26	Class A
17, 19-22, 29	Class B
25, 27, 28	Class C

Group II	***Coin Numbers 12-15, 42, 45, 58***
12, 13, 14	Class A
15	Class B
42, 45, 58	Class C

Group III	***Coin Numbers 38-41, 43, 44, 46-57***
44, 46-53, 55, 56	Class A
41, 57	Class B
38-40, 43	Class C

Group IV ***Coin Number 35***

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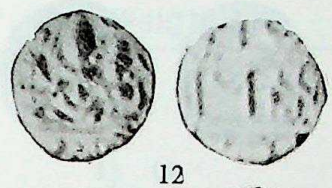
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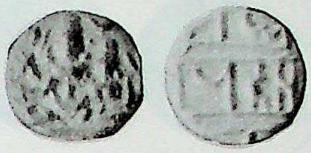
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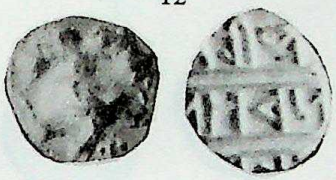
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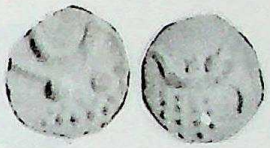
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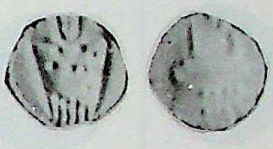
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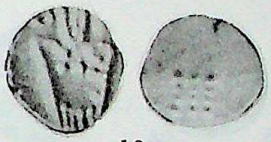
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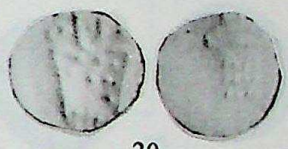
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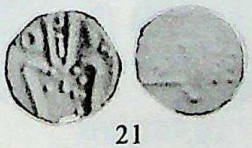
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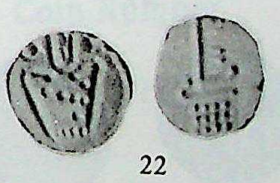
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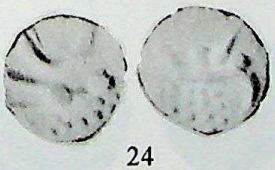
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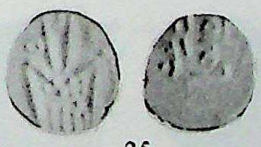
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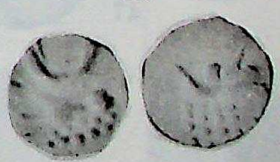
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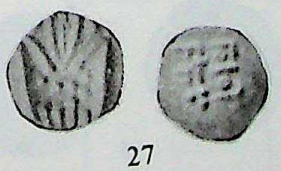
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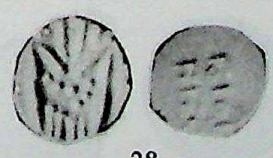
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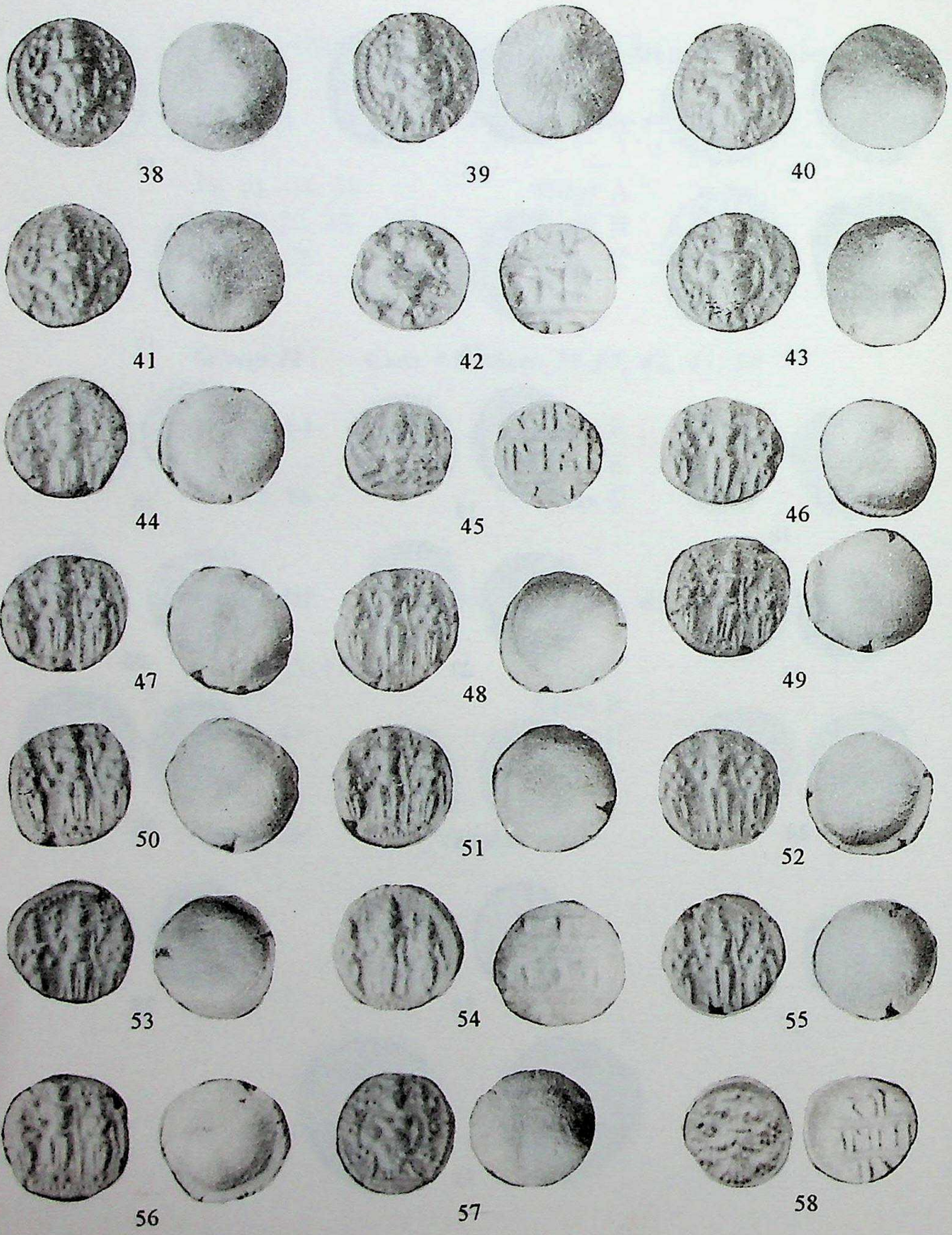

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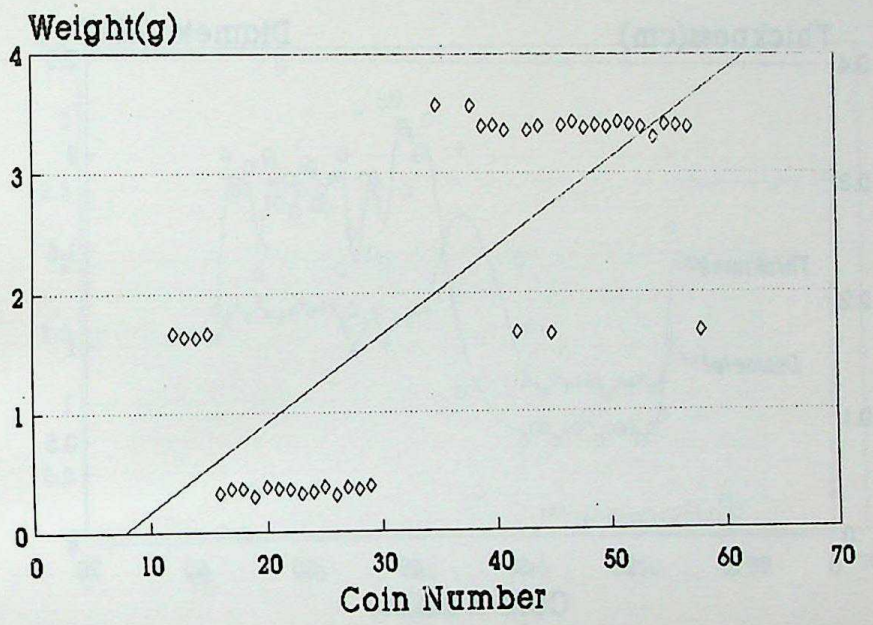

Chart 1. Trend of Coin Weights.

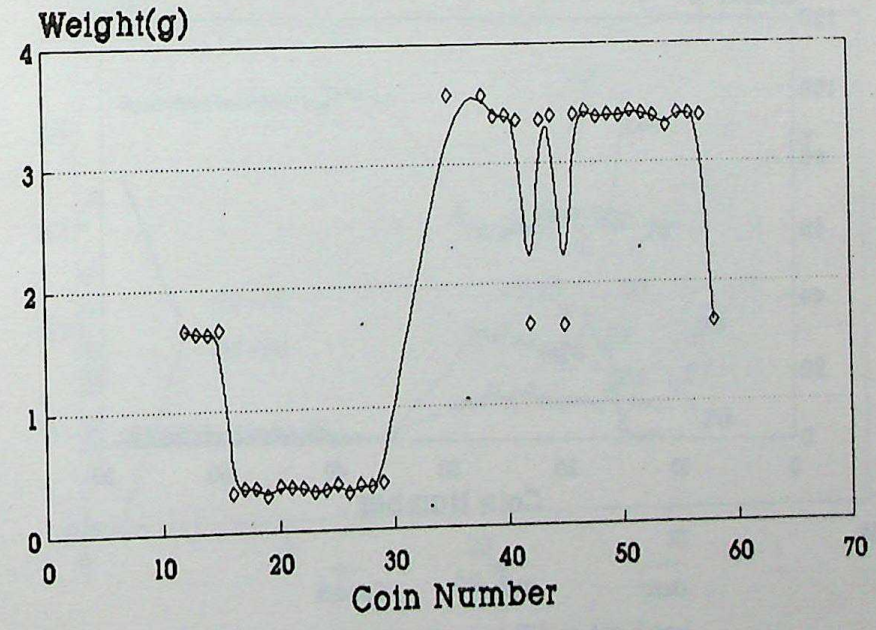

Chart 2. Coiin Weight Vs Number of Coins

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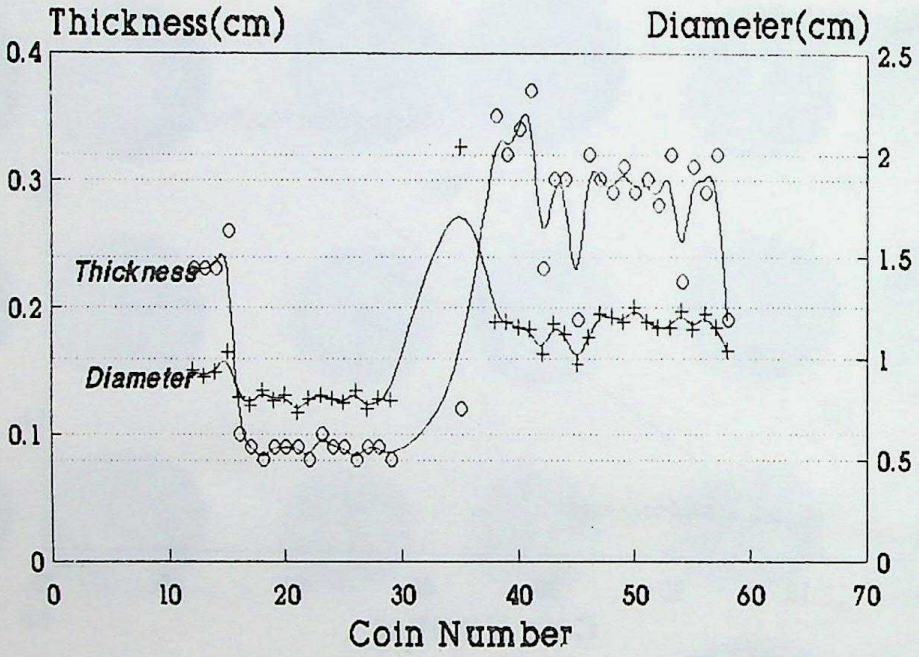

Chart 3. Thickness & Diameter Vs. Coins

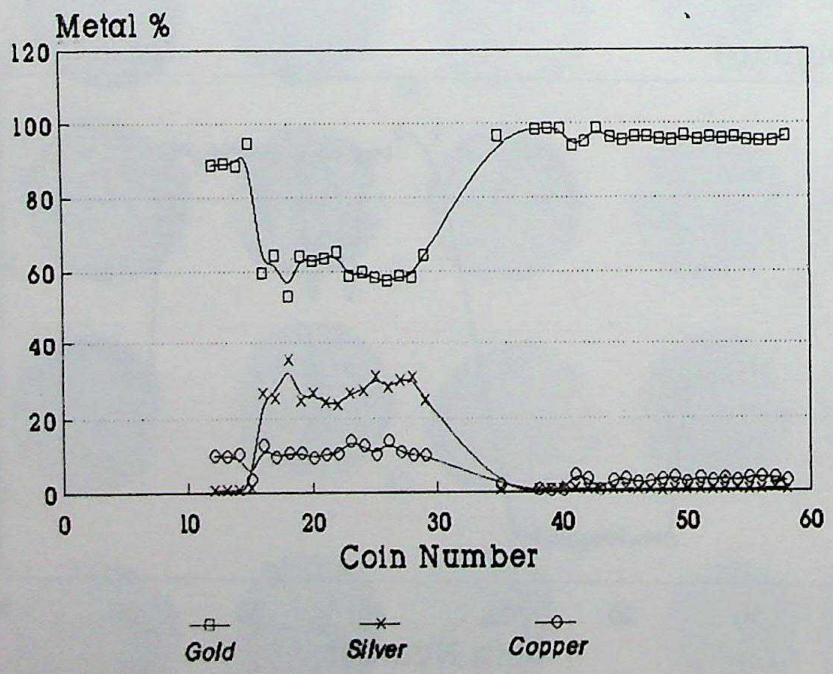

Chart 4. Coins Vs. Metal %

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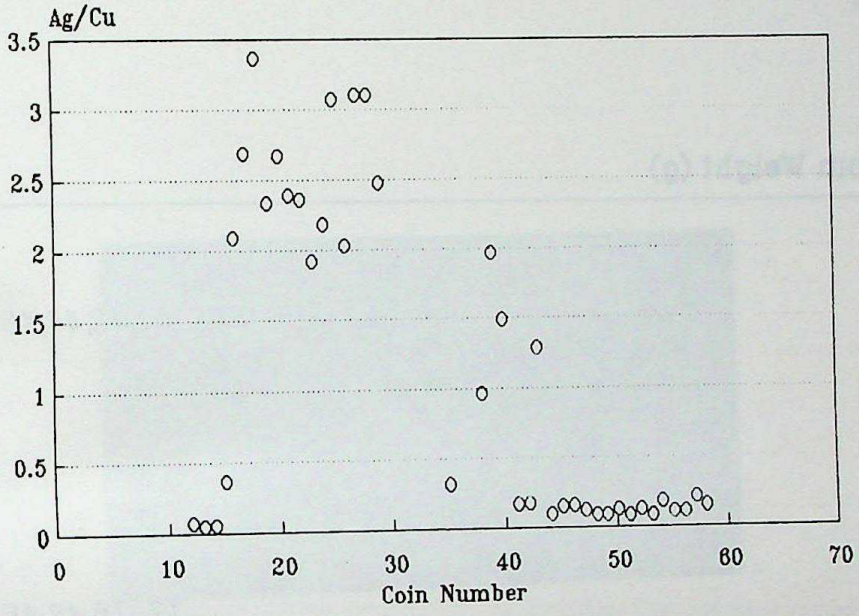

Chart 5. Silver-Copper ratio Vs. Coins

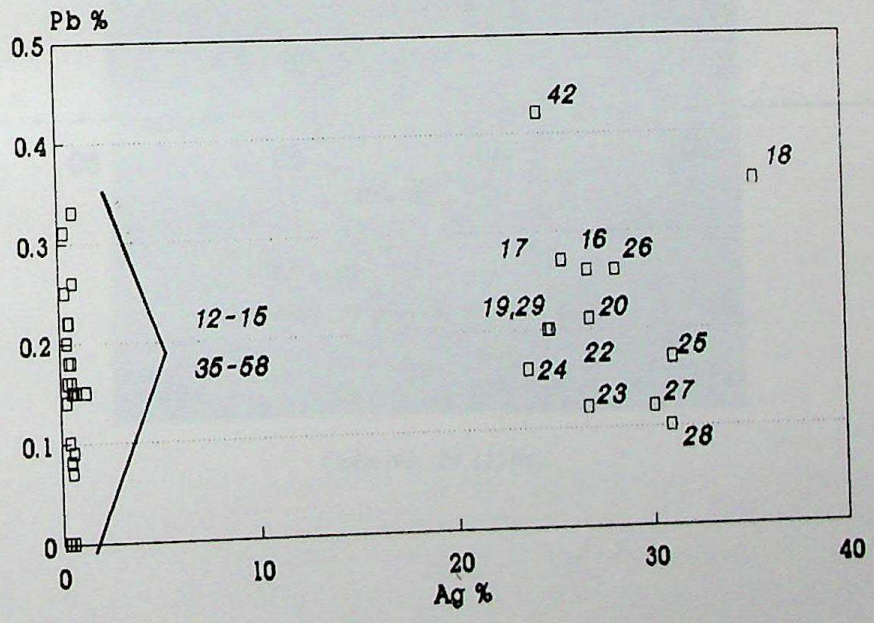

Chart 6. Scattergram of Silver Vs. Lead

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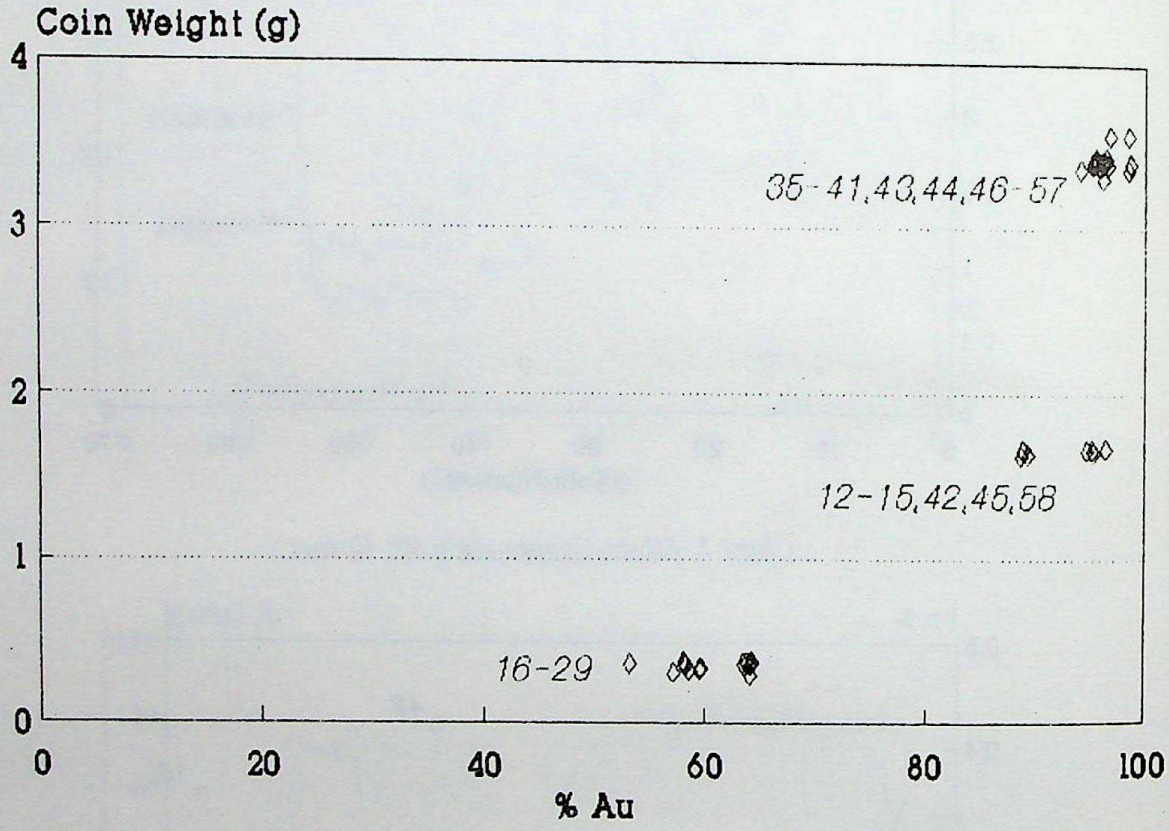

Chart 7. Coin Weight Vs. Gold %.

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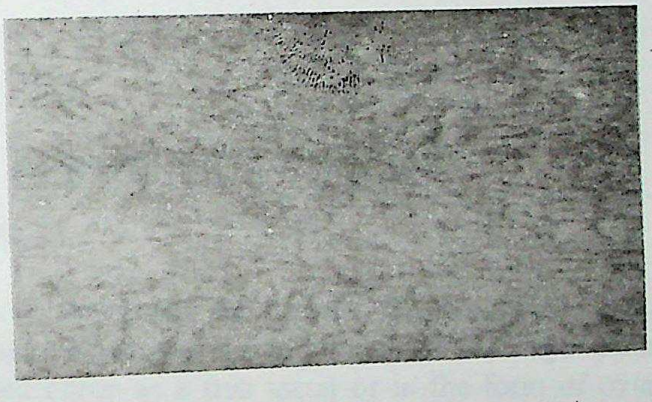
Figure 1.



Coin No. 18. (100x).

Coin No. 24 (150x).

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20

TIN AS AN ELEMENT OF COINAGE

M. C. Ganorkar

Large number of coins, *viz.*, Satavahana, Roman silver, Vishnukundin, Indo-Greek and Western Khsatrapa issues, contain tin as a major element which might have been added either as a free metal or in the form of oxides or any other mineral form for maintaining a certain degree of hardness. The important alloy of tin, *i.e.*, bronze, has been recovered from pre-historic sites during excavations, but little information is available about the tin metal. It would appear that unlike gold or copper, tin was not available in the free slate, and addition to copper or other coins might have been as cassiterite (tin oxide) or other tin bearing minerals which may not have been recognised and recorded by excavators in the past. Studies substantiate that tin is found in the oxide form and, to a certain extent, in sulphide form only.

It is strange that tin, which has brought about a major technological change in society, is scarcely evident in its own right. Large quantities of bronze (copper-tin alloy) material from early times are recovered during excavations, but they did not reveal anything about the occurrance of tin metal. This, of course, adds some weight to the argument of those who maintain that bronze as an improved copper was obtained by using particular ores or fluxes in the manufacture of the material without the recognition of tin as a separate metal. But tin as metal does exist. It is supposed to have appeared first in the sites of Anatolion and in the Middle East by about 3000 BC[1]. It has also been known that addition of tin to copper lowers

1. J. Muhly, *American Science*, 61, 404 (1973): Trans. Conn. Acad, Art set. 3, 306, 326.

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the melting point of copper and that bronze weapons were harder than copper ones. Evidently, it explains the latin *Stannum* for tin derived from Sanskrit *Stan*, *i.e.*, 'hard'. The unalloyed tin is soft. Earlier than 2000 BC, the only finds of tin mentioned in the literature are a bangle made of two twisted strands of tin wire, found by Dr. Lamb at Thermi in Lesbos, and identified by Dr. Desh[2]. There is also a cast tin bottle and a tin ring from Egypt, probably of the later years. Except for these four objects, no article made of pure tin or tin ignots was recovered until after 1500 BC, and even then the evidence is scanty. There are references indicating the replacement of arsenica bronzes with tin bronzes in the old Middle East in 3000 BC. In early 2000 BC, a tin-trade, involving hundreds of kilograms, was operating between Assur in Assyria and Konis in Antolia[3]. Another set of documents describe the movement of tin from Sasa up the Enphrates to Mari, and from Mari by way of Syria to a site tentatively identified as Crete[4]. There are spectroscopic evidences showing traces of tin in Afghanistan, Turkey and Iron. Casting of bronzes by 2800 BC in Thailand suggests that tin was known to Eastern countries long back, besides Italy, Spain, Portugal, England, China, Malaya and Burma. Objects in the Gandhara region are also known to have a tin content of upto 25%[5].

Nature of Tin Sources

As mentioned above, tin does not occur in metallic form in nature. Tin minerals are formed where minerilization is genetically related to granite or to the granite family rocks, *viz.*, magnetic quartz veins, splites, pegmatites, rhyotites or quartz porphyries or elevans as they are known in Crown-well. In these veins, cassiterite tin oxide is found as dark brown or black bands. The cassiterite in alluvial stanniferous deposits is derived from mineralised areas, also intimately associated with those types of igneous rocks. Thus, the occurrence of tin minerals can be related to the type of rock formation.

(1973); A. Malamat, *World Archaeology*, J, 21, 31 (1971); J. E. Dayton, World Archaeology, 3, 48, (1971); T. A. Wertime, *Mid-East*, 8, 11 (1968) Muhly and Wertime, *World Archaeology*, 5, 111 (1973).

2. H. L. Jones (Trans.), *The Geography of Strabo*, Hememan, London, 1928, 7, p. 145.
3. Muhly. op.cit.; Malamat, *op.cit.*; J. A. Carles, "Where is Tin", *Antiquity*, 49, 1975.
4. Muhly, *op.cit.*; Malamat, *op.cit.*
5. J. Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*.

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There is strong evidence that tin was, for the most part, carried from acid igneous magma, the molten mass from which the granite rocks were formed on solidification, mainly in combination with fluorine and boron.

In India, the main are deposits of tin occur in many places, chiefly in Aravalli hills of Rajasthan and Gujarat. In Bihar, deposits are found in Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Gaya districts. Small cassiterite deposits are reported to be found in alluvia of the streams in the Dharwad district of Karnataka. To a lesser extent, tin occurs as the sulphide Stannite (Cu_2 FeS and SnS_2).

Tin is one of the important constituents of ancient, as well as the present, coins. In the early centuries of Christian era, copper alloyed with tin, zinc or lead was used for coin making. The coin makers were well acquinted with the technology of preparing metal alloys.. For making coins, the supply of tin ores may also have been from some tin producing islands of the Malay Archipelago, Thailand or Burma. There is evidence that trade between India and these countries existed in very ancient times. The analysis data in respect of ancient coins and bronzes provides a meaningful insight into the development of the art of manufacture of alloys of varying compositions to meet diverse needs. In our laboratory, we have analysed a number of coins of the Satavahana, Vishnukundin, Roman, Indo-Greek, and Western Kshatrapa periods, and found that copper and silver coins contain tin to the maximum extent of 25%. We have analysed 124 coins of Satavahana period (2nd-1st century BC or 3rd century AD), and found that all the coins contain tin metal, with the maximum going up to 20% (Table 1). Amongst these coins, 48 are identified as belonging to a) Raño Yajñasri Satakarni (10 coins); b) Raño Gautamiputra Satakarni (9 coins); c) Raño Yajñasri Satakarni (1 coin); d) Raño Vasishthiputra Sri Pulumavi (23 coins); e) Raño Siva Sri Satakarni (5 coins). On the remaining 76 coins, the emblem is visible but the legend is either off the flan or corroded, making it difficult to assign them to any particulate ruler. The ratio of copper/tin is found to vary between 3.12 and 3.99. The bronze articles analysed by Hegde[6] also contain tin varying between 3.12 and 12.8%. There are references that the Indus

6. T. Wertime and Jolln (ed.), *Source of Ancient Tin in India in the search for Ancient Tin*, 1965, pp. 39-45, pp. 97-120; 1971, pp. 449-56.

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Valley people had mastered the metallurgy of copper around 2350 BC and made copper alloys rich in lead, tin, zinc, arsenic and even nickel.

Two potin coins belonging to the period of Vasishthiputra Pulumavi were analysed in our laboratory[7]. The principal constituents of these coins are copper and tin, with the presence of tin to the tune of about 22%. The ratio of copper/ tin in the two coins is quite close, being 3.16 and 3.04 respectively (Table 2). The photo micrographs of coin nos. 1 and 2 (Fig. 1), taken at two different magnifications, clearly bring out the formation of a £ - solid solution of tin in copper together with the formation of Cu_{31} Sn_8.

Another six coins of the Satavahana period, made available to us by BACRI Museum, Hyderabad, were analysed for six metals. *viz.*, copper, tin, zinc, iron, lead and nickel (Fig. 2). The data shows that all the coins contain tin and percentage variation is 25.8 to 31.7%. It is interesting to note that the tin content is slightly on the higher side when compared to other coins of the same period. The coins look greyish-white in colour and quite hard, which is also an indication of more tin content.

Another set of coins *viz.*, Vishnukundins[8], was analysed by us, and the results clearly show the presence of tin in these coins, with the maximum percentage of tin being about 24.5%. Vishnukundins were a major dynasty in the post-Satavahana times in the entire Andhra region including Kalinga (Orissa) and some parts of Maharashtra. They have issued a number of coins, and we chose the following three types for a detailed investigation: a) BACRI coins, said to have been obtained from Nalgonda area in Andhra Pradesh (A. P.); b) Kesaragutta coins of Ranga Reddy district, A.P.; c) those found at Tangadupalli village, A.P. (acquired under Treasure Trove Act) and obtained from the State Department of Archaeology and Museum, Hyderabad. All these coins are round in shape and have a lion in a circle on the obverse and a *sankha* flanked by lampstands on

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7. A.B. Avadhanulu, Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute Research Bulletin, 2, 1979, pp. 13-26.
8. M. Vijayakumar, M. C. Ganorkar, V. Pandit Rao and P. Gayathri, "A Study of Vishnukundin Coins", *Bulletin Material Science*, 9, June 1987, pp. 137-147.

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either side inside a rayed circle on the reverse, which is typical of the designs on the coins of Vishnukundin type (Fig. 3). The chemical analysis of 6 representative coins out of 200 coins of the BACRI museum, 4 Kesaragutta and 4 Tangadupallu coins are given in Table 3. The tin content in these coins is in the range of 21.01 to 24.73%. The analysis data confirms that addition of tin in the form of some tin minerals, mostly cassiterite, was quite prevalent. The micro-structural studies of BACRI coins are shown in Figs. 4 and 5. These reveal a two-phase structure in the interior as well as partially corroded regions. Quantitative electron probe micro analysis indicates the composition of the light etching phase to be Cu-15 wt% Sn, and that of matrix phase to be Cu-25 wt% Sn in the interior region. The composition of matrix phase in the outer regions, however, is found to be 28 wt% Cu-51 wt Sn-3 wt% FeO (CO_2O + 2 SnO_3), thus showing it to be an oxide phase, formed probably because of weathering and bad preservation of the coin. the micro structure of the Tangadupalli coin is shown in Fig. 6. The micro-structure indicates that the matrix is Cu-25% Sn, the dark green phase being copper and tin oxides of uncertain composition. Material-wise, Kesaragutta coin appears to be the same as the Tangadupalli coin. The chemical and micro-structure evidence strongly suggests that tin was a part of these coins, added in the form of metal or oxide.

From all these evidences, it can be concluded that tin, in any form, was added for hardness, mechanical strength and also for lowering the melting temperature of copper. This is further confirmed by the scientific evidence that bronze articles like swords, knives and statues are stronger than the corresponding copper articles.

Table 1. Showing details and chemical analysis data of Satavahana coins

S No.	A.P. Govt. Museum Ref No.	Shape	Obverse	Reverse	Area (Sq. cm.)	Weight (gm)	Specific gravity	Major constituents (%) Cu	Sn	Pb	Ni	Zn	Cu/Sn	Cu/Pb	Traces (parts per million) Ag	Au	As	Cd	Bi	Cr	Mn	Fe	Co	Pt	Number of coins analysed in the batch
													RANO SRI SATAKARNI												
1	PBK-128	Square	Elephant with trunk down	Ujjain Symbol	0.72	0.90	8.94	61.13	19.18	15.64	0.92	1.46	3.19	3.91	732	152	329	Nil	762	11	15	10	671	Nil	4
2	PBK-412	Circular	"	"	1.32	1.62	8.98	66.75	18.46	13.59	0.34	0.60	3.62	4.91	387	Nil	104	Nil	164	25	60	60	387	Nil	5
3	PBK-26	"	"	"	1.13	1.63	8.88	67.01	17.01	13.84	0.26	0.48	3.99	4.91	544	217	462	Nil	Nil	45	Nil	47	815	Nil	
4	PBK-438	"	Seated lion	"	2.69	3.54	8.82	65.91	16.85	13.42	0.17	1.83	3.91	4.91	42	Nil	60	Nil	Nil	10	10	25	42	Nil	1
													RANO GAUTAMIPUTRA SATAKARNI												
5	PBK-329	Square	Elephant with trunk down	"	0.56	0.49	8.97	67.09	18.85	13.76	0.16	0.14	3.54	4.88	1020	Nil	74	Nil	225	Nil	25	15	250	Nil	4
6	PBK-358	Circular	"	"	1.13	1.27	8.99	66.05	17.05	15.93	0.18	0.14	3.87	4.15	752	Nil	45	Nil	Nil	103	20	40	414	Nil	5
													RANO YAGNASRI SATAKARNI												
7	PBK-23	Square	"	"	0.56	0.7	8.95	63.71	19.12	15.57	0.21	0.84	3.12	4.03	246	328	126	Nil	Nil	132	Nil	11	328	Nil	1
													RANO VASHISHSTIPUTRA SRI PULUMAVI												
8	PBK-201	"	"	"	0.8	0.7	8.88	64.63	18.66	14.02	0.9	0.75	3.46	4.61	800	200	46	Nil	270	Nil	Nil	10	950	Nil	20
9	PBK-196	"	"	"	0.72	1.0	8.86	62.24	18.50	15.54	0.37	1.87	3.36	4.01	373	Nil	489	Nil	261	11	10	25	75	Nil	
10	PBK-428	Circular	"	"	1.33	1.85	8.85	65.30	18.82	14.03	0.3s	0.20	3.47	4.65	192	Nil	493	Nil	833	10	Nil	40	705	Nil	3
													RANO SIVA SRI SATAKARNI												
11	PBK-200	Trapezium	Siva and Bull	"	0.9	2.0	8.89	63.15	19.80	14.08	0.19	1.19	3.19	4.49	171	76	293	Nil	420	10	12	20	229	Nil	1
12	PBK-423	Circular	Siva	"	1.13	1.4	8.81	63.04	19.12	14.67	0.18	1.17	3.30	4.29	250	Nil	145	Nil	142	Nil	45	40	417	Nil	4
													LEGEND UNCLEAR COINS												
13	PBK-238	Square	Horse	"	0.63	1.14	8.81	63.33	19.24	14.67	0.70	0.40	3.13	4.11	Nil	Nil	54	Nil	163	Nil	Nil	45	761	Nil	1
14	PBK-429	Circular	Solar symbol on top of Elephant with trunk down	"	1.23	2.25	8.87	64.13	19.40	14.78	0.21	0.22	3.31	4.34	676	Nil	67	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	32	108	Nil	1
													FROM COLLECTION OF COINS WITH LEGEND ERODED BUT WITH A FEW LETTERS STILL VISIBLE												
15	PBK-288	Circular	Elephant with trunk down	"	1.33	1.65	8.77	64.36	18.73	14.12	0.17	0.33	3.44	4.56	698	116	360	Nil	50	20	40	47	190	4	1
16	PBK-288	"	"	"	1.15	1.05	8.86	62.86	19.80	14.81	0.55	0.71	3.18	4.24	1428	714	Nil	23	452	Nil	Nil	12	691	Nil	
17	PBK-288	"	"	"	1.15	1.76	8.85	65.02	18.77	14.08	0.17	0.74	3.52	4.62	1111	854	68	86	95	18	Nil	40	74	Nil	
18	PBK-288	"	"	"	1.33	1.92	8.97	63.57	19.48	15.93	0.15	0.38	3.26	3.99	598	855	17	Nil	125	11	10	10	127	Nil	
19	PBK-127	Square	"	"	0.90	0.86	8.80	62.82	18.91	15.15	0.18	0.81	3.32	4.14	128	573	285	Nil	Nil	Nil	25	25	449	Nil	
20	PBK-206	"	"	"	0.54	0.75	8.85	66.25	18.42	13.44	0.20	0.38	3.60	4.93	563	438	48	Nil	131	Nil	Nil	11	500	Nil	
21	PBK-380	Circular	"	"	0.95	1.27	8.95	64.56	18.57	15.77	0.14	0.10	3.47	4.09	1013	75	513	Nil	103	Nil	25	32	127	Nil	
22	PBK-288	"	"	"	1.10	0.95	8.88	66.48	17.98	14.35	0.12	0.18	3.70	4.63	419	32	459	Nil	871	Nil	18	25	484	Nil	
23	PBK-288	"	"	"	1.13	0.95	8.86	62.04	19.72	15.04	0.15	1.95	3.15	4.13	3951	Nil	574	Nil	150	20	Nil	69	75	Nil	73
24	PBK-288	"	"	"	1.15	1.50	8.91	63.24	19.54	15.31	0.17	0.35	3.24	4.13	1401	Nil	111	Nil	100	40	11	17	50	Nil	
25	PBK-288	"	"	"	1.13	1.50	8.80	63.18	19.80	14.27	0.34	0.64	3.19	4.43	1000	Nil	73	Nil	125	20	40	10	97	Nil	
26	PBK-3	"	"	"	1.13	1.47	8.86	64.64	18.67	14.32	0.10	1.01	3.46	4.51	1250	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	15	104	Nil	
27	PBK-439	"	"	"	1.23	1.22	8.81	64.84	18.61	14.15	0.22	1.05	3.84	4.58	260	Nil	146	Nil	729	Nil	10	25	677	Nil	
28	PBK-298	"	"	"	1.13	1.54	8.93	64.29	18.45	15.65	0.14	0.56	3.48	4.10	715	Nil	55	Nil	Nil	18	20	23	714	Nil	
29	PBK-288	"	"	"	1.13	1.60	8.84	63.19	19.05	14.56	0.12	1.78	3.32	4.34	276	Nil	496	Nil	Nil	11	10	14	153	Nil	
30	PBK-288	"	"	"	1.15	1.05	8.99	64.26	19.24	15.76	0.11	0.45	3.34	4.08	487	Nil	6	256	50	25	13	72	70	Nil	

The coins with the number PBK-288 belong to the hoard of 2132 coins as stated in Appendix

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Table 2. Values for major constituents in each of the coins by different methods

Coin No.	Copper	Tin	Lead	Copper/Tin
Conventional Wet method				
1.	73.82	23.40	-	3.16
2.	73.02	24.37	-	3.04
XRF				
2	59.48	20.62	-	2.89
2	58.70	20.08	-	2.92

Table 3. Chemical composition of Vishnukundin copper coins

Copper	Tin	Iron	Cobolt	Lead	Silver	Chromium	Copper/Tin
BACRI Museum Coins							
76.22	21.02	2.18	-	0.45	0.04	0.09	3.62
72.73	24.53	1.46	0.26	0.50	-	0.23	2.96
74.13	20.67	3.33	0.33	0.50	0.04	0.25	3.59
72.06	22.07	2.75	0.99	0.67	0.05	0.15	3.26
77.87	20.50	0.44	0.38	0.44	0.02	0.30	3.79
72.02	24.73	2.47	0.13	0.21	0.02	0.08	2.91
Kesaragutta Coins							
71.57	24.17	3.68	0.02	0.18	0.02	0.01	2.96
73.80	22.08	3.75	0.01	0.11	0.03	0.01	3.34
71.60	24.15	4.03	0.01	0.17	0.04	0.02	2.96
72.50	23.99	3.13	0.02	0.15	0.02	0.01	3.02
Tangadupalli Coins							
72.56	23.07	3.98	0.10	0.12	0.03	0.02	3.15
73.97	22.03	3.39	0.02	0.25	0.02	0.02	3.36
73.50	21.81	5.62	0.05	0.21	0.03	0.01	3.37
63.25	24.56	11.92	0.08	0.18	0.02	0.02	2.58

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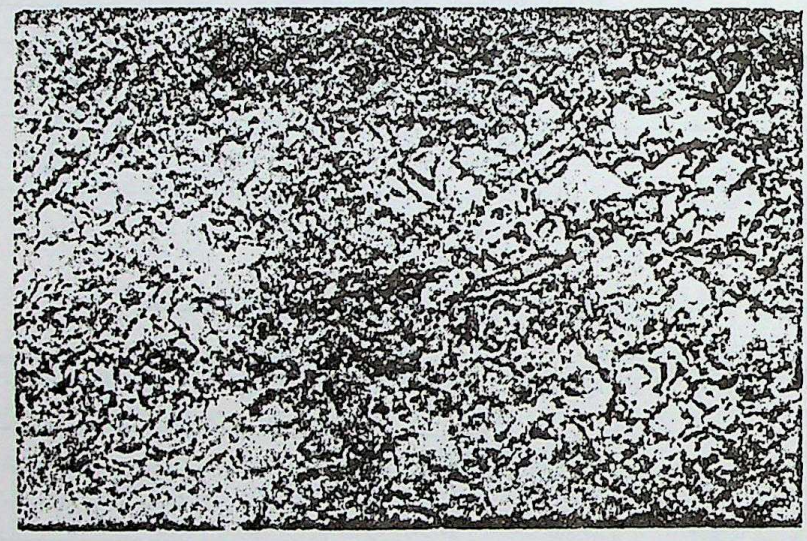

Fig. 1. Photomicrograph, coin no. 1; 200x.

Fig. 1. Photomicrograph, coin no. 2; 500x.

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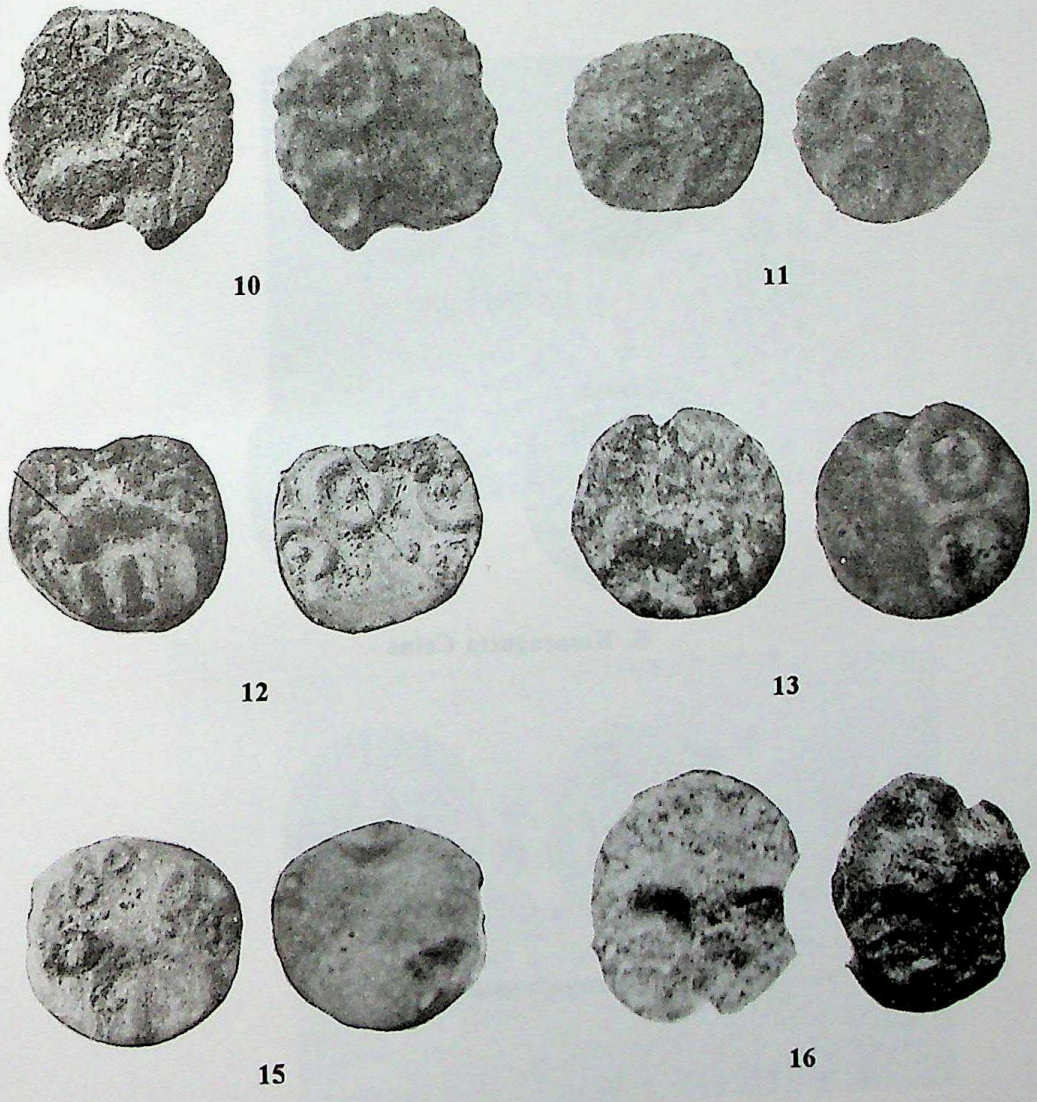

Fig. 2. Satavahana Coins, BACRI, Hyderabad

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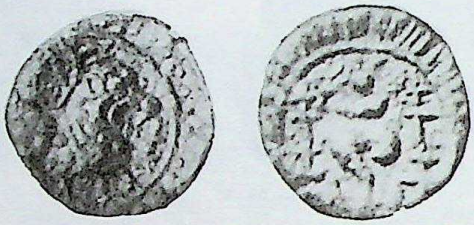

A. BACRI Coins

B. Kesaragutta Coins

C. Tangadupalli Coins

Fig. 3. Photographs of the BACRI, Kesaragutta and Tangadupalli Coins

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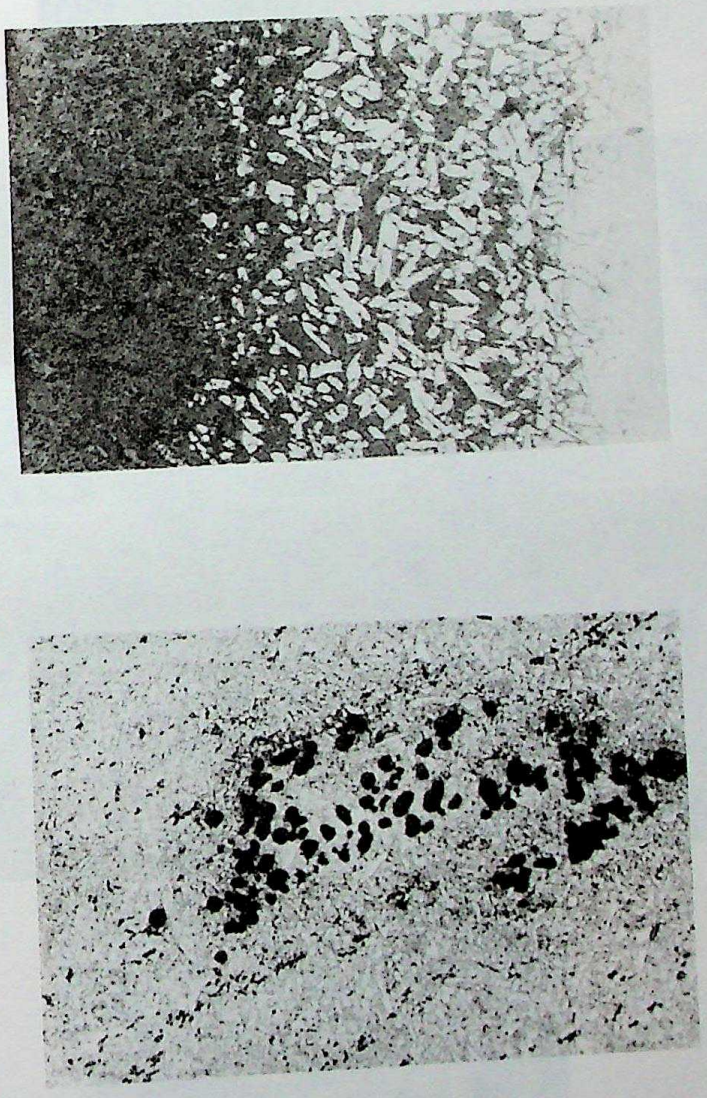

Fig. 4. Photomicrographs of a cross-section of a BACRI Coin

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Fig. 5. X-Ray Element Distribution Maps of a BACRI Coin.

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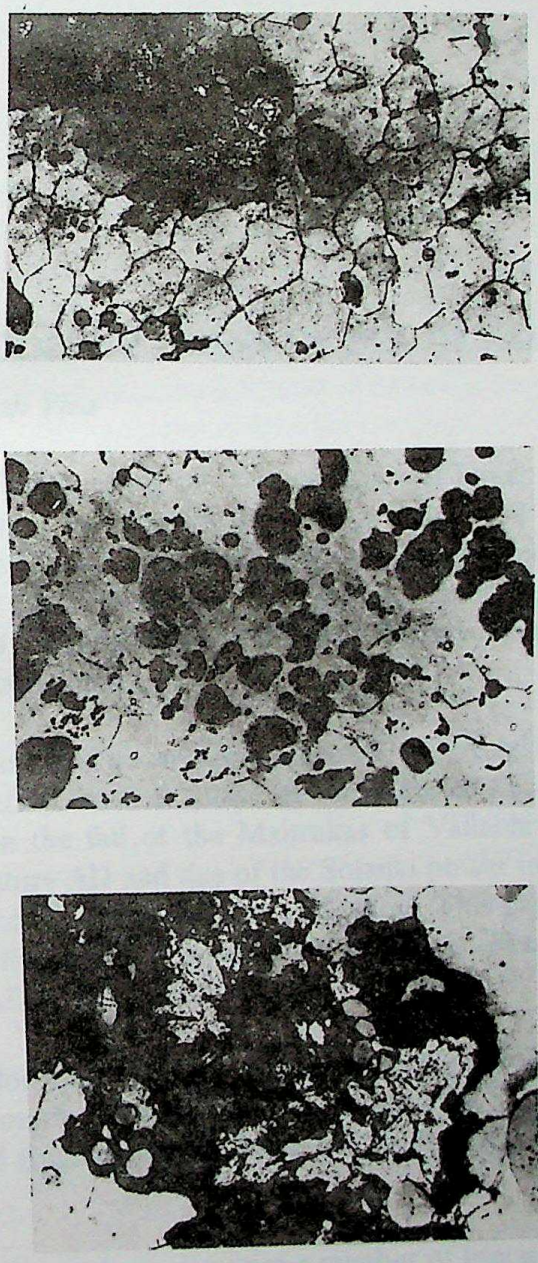

Fig. 6. Photographs of Cross-section of Tangadupalli Coin

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21

UNPUBLISHED COPPER COINS OF MEDIEVAL GUJARAT

Dhiren Gala and Girish Vira

The modern state of Gujarat, lying on the west coast of India, has for long been a favourable geographical location for flourishing ports and trading activities. Parts of what we known today as Gujarat have been known under various names in different historical periods, namely, Saurashtra, Aanarata, Lat and Kutch. The name *Gujaradesa* was applicable in the early medieval period, and this was ultimately modified to Gujarat.

The control over Gujarat and its environs has been held by several major powers during the ancient period, such as those of the Mauryas, Kshatrapas, Guptas, Maitrakas, *etc*. From the fall of the Maitrakas of Vallabhi in about the last quarter of the 8th century AD and rise of the Solanki power in the 10th century, many dynasties ruled over different parts of Gujarat. This paper basically deals with the coins of the five hundred years between the post-Maitraka (8th century AD) and Vaghela (AD 1400) periods.

Only a few coins belonging to this period have been published, and very little work has been done on this area. Further, the legends on the available coins are normally off-flan and fragmentary, and one has to reconstruct the legend from several specimens.

Apart from the coins themselves, there are a number of literary references which mentioned coinage in Gujarat. Kshemakirti mentions a silver coin *Chammalata*

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(*Varmalata*). *Lekhapaddhati* alludes to *Vishvamalapriya dra* and *Visalapriya dra* (*dra* = *dramma*) as products of the Srimala or Bhinmal mint. The same source also mentions *Kumarapalapriya*, *Lumsapriya*, and *Ajayapalapriya*, all obviously being coin nomenclatures.

Puratanaprabandhasangraha gives references of *Bhimapriya dramma*, *Bhimapuri dramma*, and *Bhimasena dramma*, all varieties of perhaps the same coin. *Nishithasutra* refers to a coin named *sabharak*, or *saharak*, in circulation at Diu port.. Thakkura Pheru, an officer at Delhi mint during Ala-ud-din Khilji's reign, mentions in his *Dravya Prakasha* under the chapter dealing with the coins of the kings of Gujarat, the issues of the five Chaulukya and Vaghela rulers from Kumarapala (AD 1144-73) to Arjunadeva as *Kumarapuri*, *Ajayapuri*, *Bhimapuri*, *Lavanapuri*, and *Arjunapuri*. Thakkura Pheru also confirms that the Gujarat coins were composed of a silver alloy.

Besides the above, names such as *Nishka*, *Bista*, *Dramma*, *Bhagak*, *Rupak*, *Kakini*, *Karshapana*, *Pana*, *Prashtha*, *Shurpa*, *Vimsopaka*, *Hemtanka* and *Suvarnatankah* also occur in literary references.

Rajakirtimishra (AD 1393) gives the following table for exchange value in his work *Ganitasara*:

A) 20 *Varataka* (*Cowrie*) = *Kakini*
4 *Kakini* = 1 *Pana*
16 *Pana* = 1 *Purana*

B) 20 *Cowrie* = 1 *Vimshopaka*
5 *Vimshopaka* = 1 *Lohadiu*
4 *Lohadiu* = 1 *Rupaka*
5 *Rupaka* = 1 *Dramma*

C) 1 *Rupaka* = 2 *Bhagaka*

All these references go to show that numerous coins and their varieties were prevalent since early times.

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Coinage

Coins listed hereunder have been attributed to respective dynasties on the basis of their find-spots and motifs.

Copper coins with bust and *trisula* (coin nos. 1 and 2) are attributed to the Maitrakas of Vallabhi. It should be mentioned that the bust on the coins of the Maitrakas was influenced by those of the Western Kshatrapas. *Trisula*, on other hand, is the royal motif of the Maitrakas.

A few copper coins of fish motif (coin no. 10) have recently come to light. Obverse of this coin displays a fish in a border of dots. The reverse shows *trisula* in the centre with Brahmi legend around. The legend is deciphered as *Sri Indra__*. Indraraja is known to be the first ruler of the Gujarat branch of the Rashtrakutas.

Flying *Garuda* style coins from Gujarat (coin nos. 11 and 12) have been attributed to the Rashtrakutas and to the Paramaras. Coins of the former class display a well engraved motif of a flying *Garuda*. The reverse shows a *trisula* in the centre with Brahmi legend *Sri Krishna__* around. Krishna is the last known ruler of the Gujarat branch of Rashtrakutas.

Coins of the Paramaras exhibit a *Garuda* in human form less artistic than the Rashtrakuta motif. The same type of figure is also noticed on the copper-plates of the Paramaras.

The copper coin with *Varahavatara* of Vishnu (coin no. 13) is assigned to the Gurjara Pratiharas of Kanauj. The coin displays a *Varaha* in human form standing with left hand on the waist and right hand resting on the left thigh. 'Prithvi' is placed on the elbow of the left hand. Reverse of this coin has a *trisula* with Brahmi legend around.

Coins of the Chudasama dynasty have been published recently. The obverse shows an elephant, and the coins could be attributed to Mahipala II (AD 1184-1202), who was known as 'Gujaraja'.

A few copper coins have been assigned to the Vaghela rulers of Gujarat. Coin no. 15 shows an elephant standing to left. The motif is inside two squares with

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dots in between. Reverse of this coin shows Devanagari legend in two lines *Sri Saran / ga da* (*va*).

Later issues of these types show an elephant either to right or to left. Reverse of these coins has Devanagari *Sri* (coin nos. 18 ff). In another coin, the elephant is replaced by a bull standing to left (coin no 17). A small coin is also noticed where a duck is either to left or to right (coin no. 20).

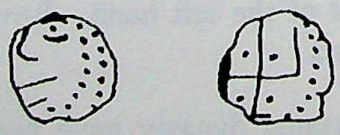
A square coin (no. 22) display a *trisula* in the centre enclosed by a circle with dotted border on the obverse. Reverse of this coin has Devanagari *Sri*. Same motifs are also noticed on a round coin (no. 23) with Devanagari *Sa*.

A few circular coins are also reported which combine two letters, *i. e.*, *Sa* and *Sri*, with the former on the obverse and the latter on reverse (coin no. 25).

A unique coin of Vaghela king Karnadeva II (coin no. 26) is published here for the first time. Obverse shows a stylised *Kumbha* with two cluster of dots on either side of it. The whole execution is enclosed in a square border. Reverse of this coin carries a Devanagari legend in three lines *Sri Ka / ranadeva / sa*(*m*)*vata*. The legend is enclosed in a square with dotted border.

We present below a catalogue of the some of the coins which we were able to examine, with the hope that this will prompt further work on this area of numismatic research.

1. Copper; wt. 1.2 gm.



Obv: Bust to left.
Rev: *Trisula* in circular border.

Fractional denomination of 0.7 gm is also known.

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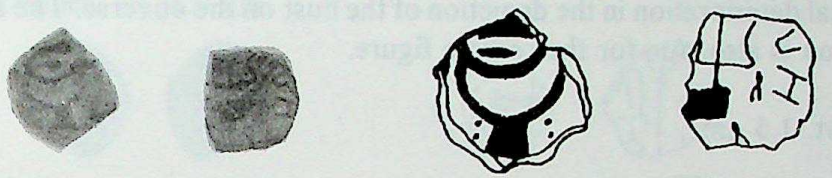
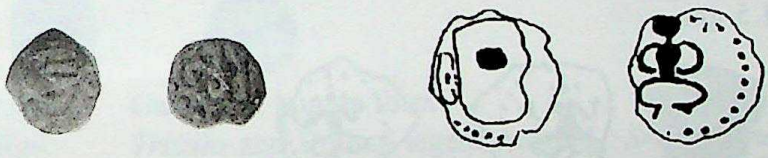
2. Copper; wt. 2.4 gm.



Obv: Uncertain symbol.
Rev: *Trisula* on stand; traces of Brahmi legend.

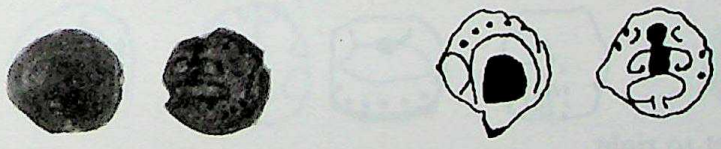
These coins are available in two weight schemes; *i.e.*, 2.4 and 1.8 gm.

3. Copper; wt. 2.1 gm.



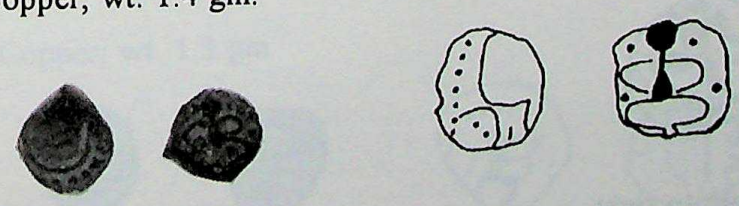
Obv: Bust to right.
Rev: Seated figure with crossed legs.

4. Copper; wt. 1.6 gm.



Obv: Degraded bust.
Rev: Crude figure.

5. Copper; wt. 1.4 gm.



Obv and *Rev:* As above.

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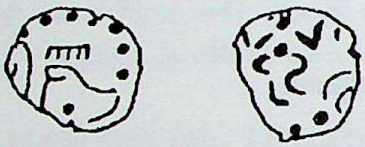
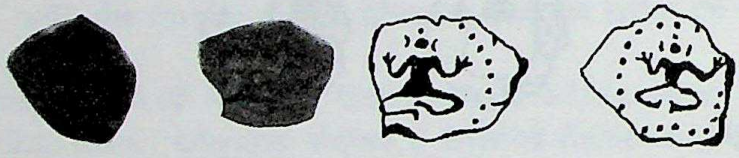
These coins may have remained in circulation for a long period time, as there is a gradual deterioration in the depiction of the bust on the obverse. The same observation is also true for the reverse figure.

6. Copper; wt. 1.5 gm.



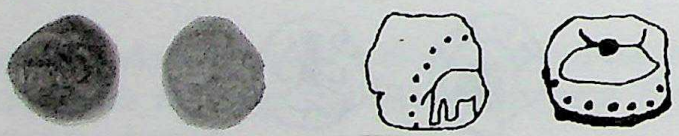
Obv: Crude bust to left.
Rev: Standing human figure.

7. Copper; wt. 1.5 gm.



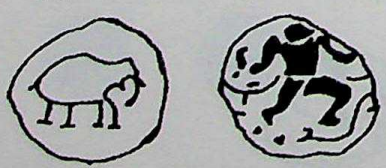
Obv and *Rev:* Seated figure.

8. Copper; wt. 1.3 gm.



Obv: Elephant to right.
Rev: Seated cross-legged figure.

9. Copper; wt. 1.5 gm.



Obv: Elephant to right.
Rev: Stylised *Garuda* in human form.

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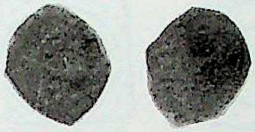
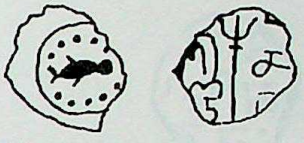
10. Copper; wt. 1.0 gm.

Obv: Fish in circular dotted border.
Rev: *Trisula* and Brahmi legend around, *Sri Indra* __

Fractional weights 0.9, 0.6, and 0.3 gm. are also known.

11. Copper; wt. 1.5 gm.

Obv: Garuda in human form
Rev: *Trisula* and Brahmi legend around, *Sri Krishna*__

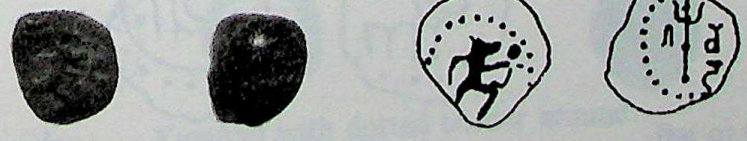
Coins weighing 1.1, 0.7 and 0.6 gm. also exist.

12. Copper; wt. 1.5 gm.

Obv: Stylised *Garuda* in human form, and cruder than on coin no. 12.
Rev: *Trisula* with Brahmi legend around.

Coins of the same type weighing of 0.7 gm. only were also seen.

13. Copper; wt. 1.3 gm.



Obv: *Varahavatara*
Rev: *Trisula* with Brahmi legend around, *Sri* __

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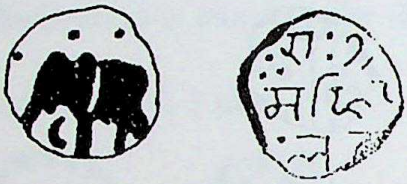
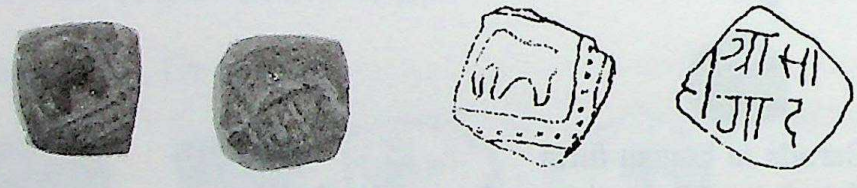
14. Copper; wt. 2.0 gm.



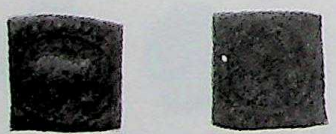
Obv: Elephant to left.
Rev: Devanagari legend, *Raha Mahipal deva* in three lines.

15. Copper; wt. 2.7 gm.



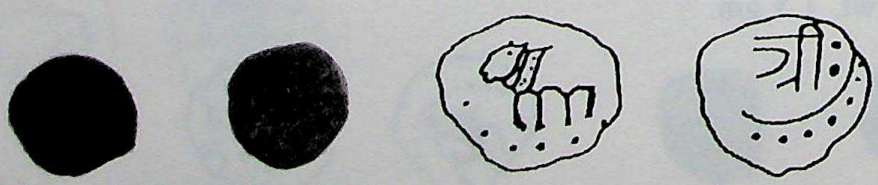
Obv: Elephant to left in square with dotted border.
Rev: Devanagari legend in two lines, *Sri Sarangade__*

16. Copper; wt. 3.3 gm.



Obv: Elephant to left in square border.
Rev: Devanagari legend as above on no. 16.

17. Copper; wt. 2.6 gm.



Obv: Bull to left.
Rev: Devanagari *Sri* in dotted circle.

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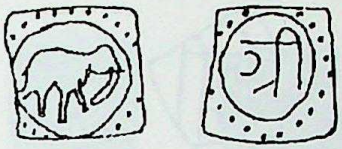
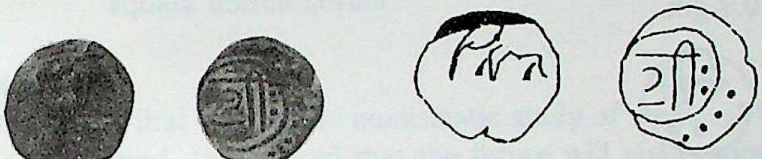
18. Copper; wt. 3.2 gm.



Obv: Elephant to right in circle; dotted border around.
Rev: Devanagari *Sri* in dotted circle.

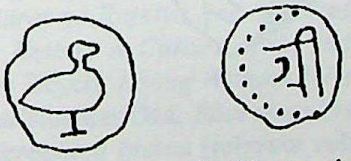
19. Copper; wt. 4.6 gm.



Obv: Elephant to left.
Rev: Devanagari *Sri* within dotted border.

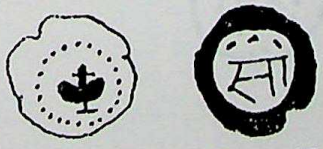
Fractions of weights 3.2 and 1.8 gm. are also available.

20. Copper; wt. 1.1 gm.



Obv: Duck (?) to right; dotted border around.
Rev: Devanagari *Sri*.

21. Copper; wt. 2.1 gm.



Obv: *Kumbha* with dotted border around
Rev: Devanagari *sa*; dotted circle around.

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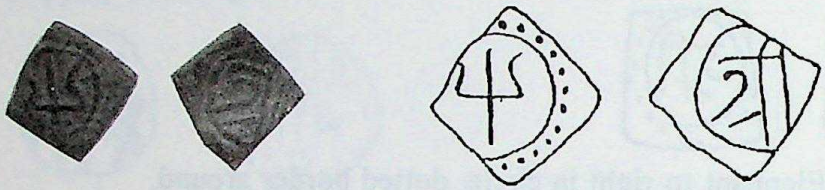
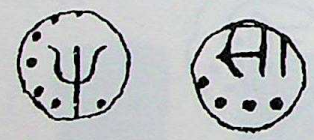
22. Copper; wt. 1.9 gm.



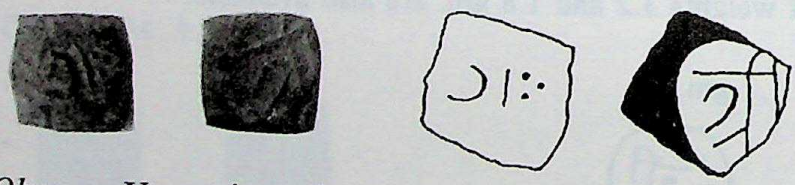
Obv: *Trisula* in dotted circle.
Rev: Devanagari *Sri* in circle.

23. Copper; wt. 0.7 gm.



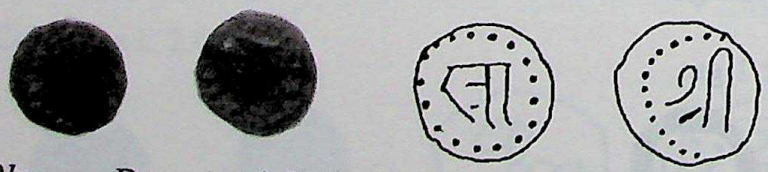
Obv: *Trisula* in dotted border.
Rev: Devanagari *sa* in dotted border.

24. Copper; wt. 2.8 gm.



Obv: Uncertain symbol.
Rev: Devanagari *Sri*.

25. Copper; wt. 2.1 gm.



Obv: Devanagari *Sa* in dotted border.
Rev: Devanagari *Sri* in dotted border.

Fractions of 0.7 gm. are also known.

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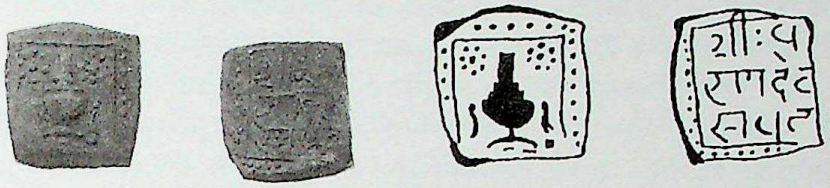
26. Copper; wt. 2.8 gm.



Obv: *Kumbha* in square with dotted border.
Rev: Devanagari legend in three lines, S*ri ka rana deva sava*__ in square dotted border.

Conclusion

Perhaps for the first time in the numismatic study of medieval Gujarat, so many coins are reported. It is hoped that the future will yield more data which will corroborate the observations made here.

This article[1] is dedicated to the memory of Shri S. M. Shukla, who provided all help and inspiration to us.

Bibliography

1. *Gujarat no Rajkiya Ane Sanskrutic Itihas*, Vols. II, III and IV.
2. *The History & Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IV,
3. John Deyell, *Living Without Silver*, OUP, Delhi, 1990.
4. Gaurishankar Oza, *Bharatiya Prachin lipimala.*
5. *Epigraphica Indica* (relevant volumes).
6. Dilip Rajgor, "Copper coins of Chudasama dynasty of Gujarat", *ONS Newsletter* No. 130.
7. G. V. Acharya, *Gujarat na Aitihasik lekh*, Parts II and III.

1. We are thankful to Shri Dilip Rajgor for his co-operation in putting together this paper, and for the line drawings incorporated herein.

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22

A NEW GOLD COIN OF ILTUTMISH

Al-Sayyed and Nicholas Rhodes

No gold coin of Iltutmish from the Delhi mint has so far been published, but the piece illustrated below appeared recently, and is now in the collection of the first named author:

Wt. 11.2 gm; diam. 2.7 cm.

في عهد الامام
المستنصر امير
المومنين

Margin: Illegible.

السلطان الاعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر التتمش
السلطان

Margin:]ضرب سهور سنه احد ثلثين و[

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It is well known that Iltutmish was the first of the Sultans of Delhi to strike silver *tankas* at the Delhi mint. The *tanka* was a local denomination, based on an Indian weight standard, and it was to dominate the coinage of northern India for the next three centuries. The earliest such coin struck in Delhi is a silver piece dated AH 624 (AD 1227)[1], although a few *tankas* were struck in Bengal a few years earlier[2]. But the appearance of the coin being noticed here adds a fresh dimmension to the coinage of Iltutmish.

Although the mint name is not visible on the coin, the style is very much that of Delhi, and it seems likely that this first gold coin struck by Iltutmish himself would have been issued in his capital of Delhi, rather than elsewhere in his territory[3]. The key section of the date is fortunately clearly legible as AH 631 (AD 1233-34), and although no silver coin of this date has been published, *tankas* with a legend similar to this new gold coin are known dated AH 632[4] and AH 633[5], the last years before the death of the Sultan.

This coin is important, in that it demonstrates that Iltutmish introduced both gold and silver *tankas* into the coinage from his mint in Delhi, when he started a precious metal coinage in his capital to supplement the fiduciary coinage of *jitals*. It should be noted, however, that the silver and gold *tankas* of the Delhi mint for this period are all very rare, and the vast bulk of coinage in circulation in that area consisted of the base metal *jitals*[6]. The fine silver and gold pieces can have played only a limited role in the economy, and may have been struck more for ceremonial purposes than for any economic necessity.

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1. H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and the Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, Delhi, 1936, p. 18, nos. 50A and 50B.
2. Gold *tankas*, with the figure of a horseman, were first struck in Gaur in the name of Mohammed bin Sam, by Mohammed Bakhtiyar in AH 601. Later silver and gold coins with the hoseman type, and inscriptional silver types were struck in Bengal, in Gaur and Lakhnauti, in the names of Iltutmish, or of the rebels in Bengal, Ali Mardan and Iwaz Khilji. Earlier gold and silver coins of Muhammed bin Sam were struck at Ghazni, using the much heavier Ghanzavid weight standards.
3. *Tankas* are also known from the Bengal mints of Lakur and Lakhnauti, but the style of the calligraphy on the coins from these mints is very different from that on this gold *tanka*.
4. Wright, *op. cit.*, no. 52, citing a coin in the British Museum with a clear date.
5. M. Mitchiner, *The World of Islam*, Standerstead, 1977, p. 333, no. 2471.
6. *C.f.* Robert and Monica Tye, *Jitals*, Isle of South Uist, 1995.

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23

ANIMAL MOTIF ON THE COINS OF ISLAM SHAH: A NOTE

Danish Moin

The Suri dynasty has a distinct position in the history of India. The credit for this goes to Sher Shah (AH 945-952; AD 1538-45). Although he ruled for a short period of 7 years or so, his achievements, particularly in the economic sense, are far-reaching. Following the death of Sher Shah, his son and successor Islam Shah ascended the throne in AD1545 and ruled upto AD 1552.

When we talk about Indian coinage, the Suri coinage needs special attention as during this period some important numismatic changes took place. It was Sher Shah who remodeled the existing currency system, both in terms of metal used and metrology. Billon, the most popular metal then, was abandoned or discontinued and, in place of the silver *tanka*, a heavier silver rupee was introduced. In the base metal, heavy copper coins were introduced. The later Suri rules issued coins on this pattern of Sher Shah's coinage. Their coins are known in gold, silver and copper in various types and varieties; but the most pretentions are coins with Arabic and Devanagari legends which bear the *Kalima* and the name of four great Caliphs on one side , and the ruler's name, title, date and mint on the other. The name of the ruler is also written in Devanagari at the bottom.

Recently, while working on a Suri-Mughal coin hoard of 2773 copper coins, I came across certain interesting coins of Islam Shah and these are being brought to notice here. The hoard is in the collection of the Indian Institute of Research

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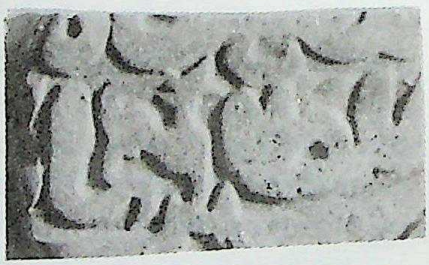
in Numismatic Studies, Nasik, and 1390 coins of the hoard[1] belong to the Suri rulers, with as many as 813 coins of Islam Shah.

The coins of Islam Shah include about 118 coins from Shahgarh mint, and out of these only 15 coins form the subject matter of the present paper. These coins are carrying the noticeable feature of an animal motif on the reverse. This motif may be identified as a deer. These coins have been divided into three varieties, depending upon the position of the motif in relation to the legend.

Variety 1

(i). Wt. 20.53 gm; size 2.19 x 1.48 cm.



Fi-ahad
Al-amir, Al-hami
Al-din Al diyyan
Zarb Shahgarh

Abul Muzaffar
Islam Shah bin
Sultan Shah
Sher
Khaldallah Mulkah

---

1. The break-up of the hoard is: *Suris:* Sher Shah - 453, Islam Shah - 813, Adil shah - 124; *Mughlas:* Humayun - 03, Akbar - 1335, Jahangir - 03, Shahjahan - 03, Aurangzeb - 03, Almgir II - 03, Shah Alam II - 1; *Princely States:* Bikaner & Jaipur - 36.

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(ii) Wt. 20.46 gm; size 2.19 x 1.48 cm.
(iii) Wt.20.61 gm; size 2.19 x 2.25 cm.
(iv) Wt.20.89 gm; size 1.48 x 2.25 cm.
(v) Wt. 20.48 gm; size 2.06 cm.
(vi) Wt. 20.59gm; size 1.48 x 2.19 cm.

Here, the animal motif is seen just above the letter *ye* (ی) of the word *Sher* (شیر).

Variety 2

(i) Wt. 20.64 gm; size 1.48 cm.

Fi-ahad
Al-amir, Al-hami
Al-din Al diyyan
Zarb Shahgarh

Abul Muzaffar
Islam Shah bin
Sulṭan Shah
Sher
Khaldallah Mulkah

(ii) Wt. 20.77 gm; size 2.25 x 2.19 cm.
(iii) Wt. 20.58 gm; size 2.19 cm.
(iv) Wt. 20.38 gm; size 1.48 x 2.19 cm.
(v) Wt. 20.59 gm; size 2.19 x 1.48 cm.

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Here the deer is coming just above the letter *Sheen* (ش) of the word *Sher* (شیر).

Variety 3

(i) Wt. 20.71 gm; size 2.25 cm.

Fi-ahad
Al-amir, Al-hami
Al-din Al diyyan
Zarb Shahgarh

Abul Muzaffar
Islam Shah bin
Sultan Shah
Sher
Khaldallah Mulkah

(ii) Wt. 21.02 gm; size 2.25 x 2.1 cm.

(iii) Wt. 20.37 gm; size 2.25 cm.

(iv) Wt. 20.61 gm; size 1.48 x 2.19 cm.

On these coins, the deer is seen between the letters *Sheen* (ش) and *ye* (ی) of the word *Sher*.

As mentioned earlier, the above varieties are on the basis of the positioning of the animal motif *vis-a-vis* legend. It is clear that at least three reverse dies have been

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used in making these coins, and this indicates that a considerably large number of coins were produced. Therefore, this type of coin cannot be dismissed either as a freak or a commemorative issue, but was meant for general circulation.

Thus far, no coin of Islam Shah was known with an animal motif, with the exception of a half *paisa* coin from Shahgarh mint which has been listed (but not illustrated) by Nelson Wright[2]. Wright identified the motif as a lion on the basis of the fact that it appears in place of the word *Sher* (*Sher* is an Urdu word for lion). The legend which Wright read is as follows:

Wright thought that the die engraver, instead of engraving the word *Sher*, had simply engraved the figure of a lion. In fact, in the absence of any illustration, it is difficult to say whether the animal motif on the half *paisa* coin was a lion or a deer.

However, the coins being published here are having both legend as well as the animal motif, and the animal motif is coming just above the word *Sher*, and resembles a deer.

Since the coins illustrated in this paper and the coin listed by Wright are having the same legend and issued from the same mint *i.e.*, Shahgarh, it is probable that all these coins are having the same motif. However, the identification of the motif as lion or deer is not important; what is really significant is the presence of an animal motif on the coin of Islam Shah. As we know, the medieval Indian rulers — particularly those of the Sultans of Delhi, Provincial Sultans and Mughals — are known to have issued their coins with Arabic and Persian legend and, unlike rulers of ancient India, the depiction of any living thing was not preferred. However, Bull/Horseman and Lakshmi type coins are known to have been issued by the early Sultans of Delhi from northern and central India respectively. However we must bear in mind that these coinage were merely continuations of the type then in circulation, and the early medieval rulers of India issued them to maintain the numismatic tradition.

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2. Nelson Wright, *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, p. 344, no. 1339A.

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Islam Shah, like his predecessor, is well known to have issued coins with legend only, but depiction of the animal motif, is a novel feature.

Now, what does this motif signify on these coins ? Since all these coins and the coin listed by Wright are from Shahgarh mint, it will not be wrong to say that the motif was a mint mark of Shahgarh[3]. Mint marks and floral designs were a common feature of medieval coins and, during the time of the Mughals, mint marks became a prominent characteristic feature of the coins. Subsequently, after Mughals, the Princely States of India gave much attention to the mint marks[4]. Moreover, Islam Shah is well known to have issued coins with mint marks; even copper coins of Islam Shah from Shahgarh mint carry the mark

It is quite possible that Islam Shah depicted this animal motif on his coins sometime in AH 959. Although the dates on these coins are not seen, this date has been fixed on the basis of the coin listed by Wright which bears the date AH 959.

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3. *Ibid.*, p. 418, where the animal motif has been already listed in the list of ornamental designs.
4. Most of the Princely State coins are issued in the name of the Mughal emperor, and their identification is done on the basis of the mint marks.

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CHINESE COIN FINDS FROM SOUTH INDIA AND SRI LANKA*

Joe Cribb

Over the last few decades it has become increasingly clear that what originally appeared to be chance finds of Chinese coins in South India and Sri Lanka are in fact part of a larger pattern of penetration of imported coins into the monetary systems of these regions. These Chinese coins follow the import and local circulation of North Indian punch-marked coins and subsequently Roman coins in both the mainland and the island regions of the far south of South Asia.

These imports are the direct consequence of the position of the ports of both South India and Sri Lanka at the centre of a far reaching network of maritime trade routes. Ship from the Red Sea and Arabian Gulf in the west and from China in the east joined ships from South Asia in the conduct of a massive international trade. China's bronze coins probably entered this trade as a source of copper bullion, useful as ballast on the sea-going ships, universally acceptable as a trade commodity, but its role as money was never far from the minds of the people trading them. It seems that wherever the coins were exported to, from East Africa to Japan, the monetary function of these coins was rapidly recognised

* I would like to thank my colleague Helen Wang and my friends Osmund Bopearachchi, K. K. Maheshwari, Neil Kreitman and Bill Barrett for their help and encouragment with this article. I never had the opportunity to meet Mr. Shukla, but know from the people who learned to love numismatics from him how important a role he played in encouraging our science in South Asia. I am proud to have been given the opportunity to participate in this volume.

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and this recognition brought them into local circulation as money. The Chinese coins reaching South India and Sri Lanka were no exception and appear to have met with the same welcome and entered the local monetary system as small change.

The export of coins out of China is a well documented aspect of Chinese monetary history. Peng[1] has documented the attempts by the Chinese authorities during the Song dynasty (AD 906-1279) to control and occasionally precept this out-flow of coins. The main destinations for the exports were the non-Chinese states which had taken control of the northern parts of China (Liao, Western Xia and Jin), and the neighboring states around China: Korea, Japan and Vietnam. The volume of exports was massive as is clear from the extent to which the importing territories were able to use the imported coins to monetise their own economies. Further afield, the same process created a similar situation in the Majapahit kingdom on the Indonesian island of Java. It became possible during the fourteenth century in Java for a new currency system to be set up based on the circulation of bronze coins imported from China[2].

The out-flow of coins from China was recognised, even at the time it was happening, as the consequence of the use of paper money in China[3]. Peng quotes an early thirteenth century official report which equates the falling value of paper money and the export of coins: "Our judgment is that coins have become scarce and the level of the value of notes falls. I understand that this is because every day all the coins are being dispatched down the Yangzi River, put on ships and sold abroad"[4]. Western historians would recognise this as the phenomenon known as Gresham's Law, by which bad money (*i.e.* bad in the sense of having a lower intrinsic value) drives out good money. The mechanism observed in China was the partial replacement of bronze coins by paper money valued in bronze coins, leading to the total replacement of the coins by the notes, as coins were withdrawn to take advantage of their metallic content. In this circumstance the coins were exported, presumably at first simply as metal,

1. Peng Xinwei, *Zhongguo Huobi Shi*, Shanghai, 1965 (revised edition), pp. 483-85.
2. R. S. Wicks, *Money, Markets and Trade in Early Southeast Asia*, Cornell, 1992, pp. 290-97.
3. Peng, *op. cit.*, p. 483.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 484.

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but, as the importing countries began to circulate them as money, the demand for them must have increased.

The earliest exports pre-dated the beginning of the Song dynasty and can be detected in the copying of early Tang coins (from AD 621) in Korea and Japan. The exports continued after the Song dynasty, with the last major shipments out of China taking place in the early fifteenth century, when the Ming dynasty was making coins specifically for export to Japan and the famous eunuch admiral Cheng. He was distributing large amounts of bronze coins to local rulers on his journeys in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean in AD 1405-1433, including his numerous visits to both India and Sri Lanka[5].

Chinses coins which have been found outside China provide additional evidence of the destinations of the exported coins, beyond that reported in contemporary accounts. Such finds, however, require careful interpretation, because of the nature of the Chinese coinage system. Most of the coins found in both South India and Sri Lanka range in time of issue from the seventh century through to the second half of the thirteenth century, but this range cannot be used directly to date their arrival and use in South Asia. These dates can only be used as part of the evidence for understanding their presence in the area by placing them in the broader context of Chinese coin issue, circulation and export.

The main problem for interpretation is the continuing circulation of Chinese coins for centuries after their first issue. For example, a hoard of exported coins buried in Japan before AD 1368 could contain coins ranging from the late second century BC to the early fourteenth century AD[6]. The standard coin used in China remained fundamentally the same, a cast bronze square-holed piece with a four character Chinese inscription weighing 3-4 gm, from the seventh century until the fifteenth century. From the sixteenth century, the metal of the coins changed to brass, but the form was the same. Most earlier Chinese coins

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5. Su Chung-Jen, "Places in South East Asia, the Middle East and AFrica visited by Cheng Ho and his companions (AD 1405-1433)", *Symposium on Historical, Archaeological and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, South East Asia and the Hong Kong Region*, F. Drake (ed.), Hong Kong, 1967.
6. Peng, *op. cit.*, p. 579.

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were also the same in form and size as the seventh century issues, but with fewer characters in the inscription. There was, therefore, little reason to remove old coins from use if they continued to conform to the expected standard of later coins. In addition, the coins were normally used in bulk, tied together by strings through their square holes, often in bundles of a thousand coins each, so that the users could not see the design on the face of each coin, *i.e.*, the means by which its date of issue could be recognised. Any group of coins in circulation in China exported could therefore be expected to contain a wide age range of coins.

A further complication to this problem was the fluctuating volume of coin issue in China. Today we expect to see a fairly constant output of coins for circulation, but it was not so in medieval China. Available production figures show widely varying figures for annual production of coins. Peng has collected annual production figures for bronze coins during the northern Song dynasty which show a gradual rise in production levels from 500 million in AD 981 to 5,000 million in AD 1080[7]. Ch'en has extended Peng's study to cover the Southern Song period and shown a dramatic drop in production to figures well below those at the beginning of the Northern Song, *e.g.*, 220 million in AD 1156[8]. This shows the general trend during the Song dynasty, but it is likely that some years saw little or no production, while others resulted in above average production levels.

In the period after the fall of the Song dynasty coin production continued to fall and it is clear that for long periods of the Yuan dynasty (AD 1271-1368) there was no production at all. The only year when a large number of coins was cast was in AD 1310. Mintage figures for this issue have not been reported, but the quantity of surviving examples of the issue suggest that it was considerably smaller than those of the early Song period. The use of paper money was enthusiastically adopted by the Yuan dynasty and there was therefore considered to be no role for copper coin in their monetary system. The AD 1310 issue was part of a reform attempting to integrate the coinage and paper money system which was abandoned in the following year.

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7. *Ibid.*, p. 451.
8. J. Ch'en, "Sung bronzes - an economic analysis", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Africal Studies*, 28, 3, London, 1965, pp. 613-626.

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When the Ming dynasty succeeded the Yuan in AD 1368, official policy continued to promote paper money, but with less consistency. Bronze coins were periodically issued alongside the official paper money, but still with low annual production rate. Peng has reported annual production figures[9] well below the Northern Song levels: 89 million for AD 1368, 199 million for AD 1375 and 190 million for AD 1393. From AD 1368 until AD 1425 sporadic minting continued, but from then until AD 1503 only one small issue of coins was made in AD 1433.

The impact of the inconsistency in annual production rate had a dramatic effect on the content of groups of coins in circulation in China or exported abroad. The ratios of the number of each period's surviving coins reflect the ratios of their production levels. Recorded hoards from China and from the surrounding states show this clearly. A typical circulation group of the period just before the Ming dynasty would have the following ratio of coins:

Tang dynasty	9%
Northern Song	88%
Southern Song	2%
Jin dynasty (contemporaries of Song)	less than 1%
Yuan dynasty	less than 1%

After the beginning of the Ming dynasty, the above ratios were preserved but there was a proportion of Ming coins present, which could be anything from 1% to more than 50%, depending upon the situation in which the coins were assembled in China. These figures are based on the observation of data from large hoards, recorded over the last two decades. They are very close to the figures quoted from Japanese sources by Peng[10] for the Japanese finds of Chinese coins mentioned above:

Hoard of 234,000+ deposited after AD 1310, found in the Seiso Temple, Mito, Hitachi Province in AD 1712; the counts are probably approximate, only 208,721 coins were identified[11].

9. Peng, *op. cit.*, pp. 677, 685.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 496, 579.
11. *Ibid.*

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Tang	20,40	09.77%
S. Tang etc.	200	0.96%
N Song	181,700	87.05%
S. Song	6,416	3.07%
Yuan	5	0.002%

Peng Xinwei, Shanghai 1965, pp. 496 and 579.

Hoard of 85,500 + deposited after AD 1310, found in the Zensho Temple, Okabe village, Musashi Province, in AD 1902; only 27,491 coins were identified[12].

Han etc.	5	0.02%
Tang	2,472	8.99%
S Tang etc.	58	0.21%
N Song	24,323	88.48%
S. Song	595	2.16%
Liao	2	0.01%
Jin	2	0.01%
Yuan	5	0.02%
Japanese	3	0.01%
Korean	4	0.01%
Annamese	1	0.005%
Imitations	21	0.08%

Peng Xinwei, Shanghai 1965, pp. 496 and 579.

The distribution of issues in such hoards suggests that, when smaller groups of coins are found, if there are less than 100 coins present, it can be very difficult to estimate the date of their removal from circulation. A typical hoard of 100 coins depisited in the early years of the Ming dynasty could contain 9 Tang coins, 88 Northern Song coins, 2 Southern Song coins and the last coin could be an issue of the Jin, Yuan or Ming. A smaller hoard might consist only of Tang and Northern Song coins, all made more than 240 years before the coins were taken from circulation. Finds of single coins are even less informative about their date of deposit. The composition of any found group can, however, reveal a little more if its composition shows any departure from the typical distribution.

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12. *Ibid.*

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In order to understand the extent and context of Chinese coin exports to South Asia, I have assembled the following list of all the finds of Chinese coins which I have been able to locate from Sri Lanka and South India and all places westwards of South Asia. Some are from published sources, while some have been examined at first hand. For published sources, the identifications given by the source are accepted at face value.

Sri Lanka

After 1101: Polunnaruwa
3 bronze coins found near Thuparana at Polunnaruwa.

N Song	3 (latest issue 1101)	

J. Still and R.F. Johnston, "Three Chinese coins from Polunnaruwa", *Spolia Zeylanica*, August 1907, pp. 177-78, H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Colombo, 1924, pp. 166-9.

After 1131: Anuradhapura
6 bronze coins found at site of ancient city.

N. Song	5 8	3.33%
S. Song	1(issued 1131-62)	16.67%

H. W. Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-69.

After 1200: Yaphuwa
About 1500 coins of 12-13th century found at the site of a town built by a military ruler, 1215-36, later a royal residence, 1272-84.

O. Bopearachchi, "La circulation des monnaies d'origine etrangere dans I'antique Sri Lanka", *Circulation des monnaies, des marchandises et des biens, (Res Orientales V)*, Paris, 1993.

After 1205: Yaphuwa
10 bronze coins found during excavations at the Mura-ge ruin.

N. Song	6	60.00%
S. Song	4 (latest issue 1205)	40.00%

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H.C.P. Bell, "A find of Chinese coins at Yapahuwa", *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, 1911-12, p. 64; H. W. Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-69.

After 1242: Talaimannar
Hoard of 18 bronze coins found during railway construction.

Tang	2	13.33%
N. Song	11	73.33%
S. Song	2 (latest issued 1242)	13.33%
Illegible	3	

H.W. Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-69.

After 1265: Polunnaruwa
154 bronze coins found during excavations at the King's Palace (Rajamaligawa) site at Polunnaruwa, ranging from Tang to S. Song (1265).

"Chinese coins found in Ceylon", *Ceylon Literary Review*, Colombo, August 1932, p. 383.

After 1265: Polunnaruwa
Hoard of 342 bronze coins found during excavations, ranging from Tang to S. Song (latest issue 1265).

C. F. Winzer, "Chinese coins found during excavations at the Rajavesibhujanga in Polunnarauwa", *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, 1931, p. J8.

Uncertain date: Anuradhapura
Bronze coins found during excavations at Ratana Pasada, Anuradhapura.

E. R. Ayrton, "Coins discovered during excavations at Ratna Pasada excavations and the Western Minasteries of Anuradhapura", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, 1924, 1, p. 3.

Sri Lanka small finds

Polunnaruwa

N. Song	2 (latest issue 1068)

Kurunegala

N. Song	1 (issued 1068)

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Alutvewa

N. Song	1 (issued 1119)

Kurukkalmadam

N. Song	1 (issued 1078)

Kamunai

N. Song	1 (issued 1101)

Nindavur

N. Song	1
S. Song	1 (issued 1131-62)

Mannar

S. Song	1 (issued 1190)

Mantai
Types not reported.

Paduvasnuvara
Types not reported.

Dedigama
Types not reported.

H.W. Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-69 and 252; W. Willett, "Ceylon and China", *Ceylon Times*, Dec. 1960 Feb 1961; O. Bopearachchi, *op. cit.*

South India

After 1241: Vikramam, Pattukottai Taluk, Tanjore
Hoard of 20 bronze coins.

Tang	3	16.66%
N. Song	11	61.11%
S. Song	4 (latest issue 1241-52)	22.22%
Illegible	2	

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N. S. Narayana, "Three hoards of Chinese coins in the Madras Museum", *JNSI*, 1971, pp. 61-8; *Sino-Indian Studies*, 1 (CH IV, 325), Yang Fuxue, "Nan Yindu chutu Zhongguo gubi huishuo (A Review of ancient Chinese coins dug up in South India)", Zhonguo Qianbi, 48, 1995.1, pp. 17-19.

After 1241: Olayakunnam, Pattukottai Taluk, Tanjore
Hoard of 323 bronze coins.

Han	2 (earliest issue 2nd century BC)
Tang	1+
N. Song	26+
S. Song	10+ (latest issue 1242-52)

Narayana, *op. cit.*; Yang Fuxue, *op. cit.*

After 1265: Thalikottai, Mannarguti Taluk, Tanjore
Hoard of 1882 bronze coins.

Han	3	0.16%
Tang	124	6.59%
N. Song	1571	83.47%
S. Song	114 (latest issue 1265-1274)	6.06%

N. S. Narayana, *op. cit.*; Yang Fuxue, *op. cit.*

South India small finds

Chandravalli

N. Song	1 (issued 1023)

Arikamedu
Type not reported.

Korimedu
Type not reported.

Periapattanam
Type not reported.

Kayal
Type not reported.

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Sirpur

Tang	1 (issued after 621)

Balpur

Types not reported	1+

I. K. Sarma, *South Indian Coinage: A Review of Recent Discoveries*, Madras 1992, p. 25 and 29; Noboru Karashima, "Trade relations between Tamilnadu and China during the 13th and 14th centuries", *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, 1, Tokyo, 1989, B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency System in South India, c. AD 225-1300*, Delhi, 1977, p. 117; Yang Fuxue, *op. cit.*

Iran

After 1265: Siraf
Hoard of 60 bronze, 1 and 2 cash pieces; from 14th century layer in residential site.

Tang	1	1.67%
N. Song	53	88.33%
S. Song	3 (latest issue 1265)	5.00%
Illegible	3	

Stray finds:

Tang	3
N. Song	5
S. Song	1 (latest issue 1205)
Illegible	3

N. M. Lowick, *Siraf XV, The Coins and Monumental Inscriptions*, London, 1985, pp. 6, 57-63 and plate V.
Coin Hoards, 1, 343.

Uncertain date: Old Hormuz
Chinese bronze coins, 11th-13th century, found during excavations.

Record in Lowick files in British Museum.

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Bahrain

After 1195: Qal'at
53 bronze (some fragmentary) and 1 lead coins.

Recovered during excavations, only 22 coins were identified in report. The Chinese ceramics at the site suggest a date as late as the 16th century (when the Portuguese built a fort over the site) for the closure of the occupation of the building where the coins were found. The main period of occupation, however, seems to have come to an end in the fourteenth century.

Tang	2
N. Song	18
S. Song	2 (both issued 1195-1200)
Illegible	32

M. Kervran, A. Negre and M. Pirazzoli t' Sertsevens, *Excavation of Qal at al Bahrein*, Bahrain, 1982, pp. 87-89, pl. VII-IX.

Uncertain date: Bahrain
19 Chinese coins found during excavations of mounds; 18 Northern Song and one Southern Song, issued 1205.

Danish Archaeological Mission.
T.C. Bibby, Bahrains Oldtishoved Gennem 4000 ar, Kuml, 1957.

Saudi Arabia

After 1241: Ad-Damman
2 bronze coins, report suggests that they were found in tomb ten miles from Ad-Damman.

S. Song	2 (latest issue 1241)

Coin Hoards, 4, 322.

After 1268: al-Qatif
20 bronze coins.

N. Song	12	60.00%
S. Song	8 (latest issue 1268)	40.00%

Source: D. Potts.

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Oman

Date unknown: Belid

Lowick reported that among the surface finds from Belid, near Salalah in Dhofar, on the south-western coast of Oman, there were found Chinese bronze coins together with bronze coins of the Rasulids of Yemen and the Sultanate of Mogadishu and Mafia.

Lowick's notes in his files preserved in the British Museum record that there were 11 coins or fragments of coins found as surface finds at this site, they range in date from 995 to 1241. Ten are Northern Song and one Southern Song dated 1241.

N. M. Lowick, "Recent coin finds in the Arabian Peninsular", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies (Cambridge 22-23 June 1970)*, London, 1971, pp. 41-44.

Somalia

After 1408: Mogadishu and environs
Collction of 35 bronze coins, collected in Mogadishu (29), Brawa (5) and Merca (1).

Tang	1
N. Song	17
S. Song	5
Ming	6 (all issued 1408)
Qing	2
Vietnamese	4 (19-20th century)

"Melanges", T'oung Pao, XL VII, 1959, pp. 81-3, pl. I-II; G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, "Coins from Mogadishu, c. 1300 to c. 1700", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1963, pp. 179-200.

Uncertain date: Mogadushu
Some Chinese coins, mostly Song dynasty.

F. Stulhmann, *Beitrage zur Kulturgesichte von Ostafrika*, Berlin, 1909, p. 860, n. 2.

Kenya

After 1228: Gedi, Kenya
1 bronze coin excavated from 15-16th century strata of early Islamic city on coast.

S. Song	1 (issued 1197)

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1 bronze coin excavated from mid-15th century strata.

S. Song	1 (issued 1228-33)

J. S. Kirkman, *The Arab City of Gedi*, 1954, p. 149.

Tanzania

After 1068: Zanzibar
1 bronze in hoard of Kilwa Sultanate coins of 14-15 century (latest issue *c.* 1482-93).

N. Song	1 (issued 1068)

J. Walker, " some new coins from Kilwa", *op. cit.*, pp. 226.

After 1111: Zanzibar
4 bronze in hoard of Kilwa Sultanate coins of 14-15th century (latest issue *c.* 1482-93).

N. Song	4 (latest issue 1111)

J. Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 225.

After 1258: Zanzibar
Hoard of 9 bronze coins found during building work (possibly part of Kajengwa hoard).

N. Song	8	88.89%
S. Song	1 (issued 1258)	11.11%

Coin Hoards, 7, 530.

After 1265: Kajengwa, Zanzibar
Hoard of about 250 bronze coins, found during agricultural work buried in hole in coral bank; 176 coins recorded.

Tang	4	2.38 %
N. Song	108	64.28%
S. Song	56 (latest issue 1265-75)	33.33%
Illegible	8	

G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

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After 1265: Mkokotoni, Zanzibar
Hoard of 29+ bronze coins found in remains of old building, during construction work. The hoard contained at least one bronze coin of the Kilwa Sultanate, 15th century issue.

Tang	2	6.90%
N. Song	22	75.86%
S. Song	5 (latest issue 1265)	17.24%

Unpublished, record in British Museum.

After 1368: Kilwa
18 bronze coins from excavations and survey at Kilwa mosque site.

1 coin (fragment) from 14th century level (p. 278)

N. Song	1 (issued 1068)

1 coin from 14th century ash pit (p. 281)

N. Song	1 (1078)

1 cooin from 165-16th century (p. 276).

N. Song	1 (issued 1078-1100)

1 coin from 14th century level (p. 280)

N. Song	1 (1088)

14 coins from surface of beach (p. 301)

N. Song	11
S. Song	2 (latest issue 1208-34)
Ming	1 (1368-75)

H. N. Chittick, *Kilwa*, Nairobi, 1974.

Uncertain date: Krishna Mafia, Zanzibar
2 bronze found by Mrs G. E. Organ.

F. A. Pearce, *Zanzibar, the Island Metropolis of East Africa*, 1920, p. 344, 49.

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Some of the finds from East Africa show clearly that exports into the Indian Ocean continued into the fifteenth century, and reflect the records of visits to this area by the Ming dynasty fleet under the direction of the eunuch admiral Cheng He. Ming coins are, however, absent from the other reported Indian Ocean / Arabian Gulf finds and when these finds are large enough to be statistically significant the proportion of Southern Song coins is larger than the 2% one would expect from Yuan-Ming period hoards. This suggests that many of these finds are perhaps close in time to the Southern Song period, exported when Southern Song coins were available in relatively large numbers, because of their recent production. Two of the finds from Tanzania show a similarly large proportion of Southern Song coins. The same abnormal increase of contemporary coins has been observed in a Ming period export hoard partly assembled from newly minted coins.

After 1408: Beijiao Island, Guangdong Province, China

82,701 bronze coins recovered during excavations of wreak of Chines ship, lost in the early 15th century.

Han	6	0.01%
Tang	1573	1.91%
S. Tang, etc.	39	0.04%
N. Song	24,158	29.27%
S. Song	2650	3.21%
Jin	93	0.11%
Yuan	119	0.14%
Ming	53,908 (latest 1408)	65.31%

Wen Wu, 1974, part 10, pp. 1-29 (*Coin Hoards*, 1, 344), 1976, part 9, pp. 9-17 (*Coin Hoards*, 4, 331).

The larger finds from South India and Sri Lanka showing a high proportion of Southern Song coins suggest that they contained coins brought to South Asia during the Southern Song or early Yuan period when more Southern Song coins were available. A detailed view of most of the larger finds from South India and Sri Lanka points, however, to a later date within this range, as among them the latest coins are close in date to AD 1272 when the Southern Song coinage came to an end. The date for their arrival in South Asia is therefore likely to be during the early Yuan period, *i.e.*, the late thirteenth to early fourtheenth century.

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The first arrival of Chinese coins in South India probaly pre-dates the main period of import in the thirteenth century because values in terms of *chinakanakam*, which appear to be Chinese coins, have been recorded in a Tanjore Tamil Nadu temple image dedication[13], dated AD. This corresponds to the opening up of large scale direct trade between China and the Indian Ocean, from the tenth century when the big Chinese junks began to sail into the Indian Ocean, reaching as far as the Malabar Coast from the latter part of the tenth century[14]. The large finds reported from Tanjore, however, are all of the thirteenth century or later, even though they contain coins of the period of the inscription. It is certain that the earlier coins in these hoards were imported along with the thirteenth century coins and not earlier, because the composition of hoards from China shows that earlier coins were always present in thirteenth century hoards.

The widespread distribution of Chinese coins in South India and Sri Lanka does, however, support the idea that they were actually in circulation in these regions as currency. If the finds were restricted just to hoards it could be argued that these were recently imported trade bullion deposits without local currency, but the numerous single finds suggest a broad penetration of the coins into local monetary use. It is perhaps significant that in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries both Sri Lanka and South India saw the large scale production and of local "Ceylon-man" type copper coins of approximately the same weight (3-4 gm.) as the average Chinese coins. A similar introduction of copper coins of the same denomination as the imported Chinese coins has also been observed in the Islamic Sultanates of East Africa from the twelfth century. Local finds also suggest that in this area Chinese coins and the local Sultanate coppers were in use together. The coincidence of local copper denominations with Chinese denominations in both East Africa and South Asia allowed the imported coins to come into local circulation alongside the native copper currencies.

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13. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency System in South India*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 145-46.
14. K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean - an Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 51.

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25

SOME INTERESTING COPPER COINS OF AKBAR

Jayant R. Hunnargikar

The coins issued during the reign of Akbar are of many varieties. His copper coins are known in the weight range of 2 to 2.5 gm. (1/8 *dam* or 1/16 *tanka*) to 40 gm. (double *dam*)[1] No other emperor of the Mughal dynasty or his contemporaries appear to have issued copper coins on such a large scale.

While going through my own collection of coins, I have noticed that there are a few interesting copper coins which I would like to bring to the notice of the readers.

Allah Akbar type

1. Round; wt. 19.45 gm; size 1.7 cm.

Obv: *Allah Akbar*
Rev: *Tatta Falus Ilahi Sanah 8*

1. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins in Punjab Museum, Lahore*, 2, *The Coins of Mughal Emperors*, pp. 113-114.

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The term *Allah Akbar* is well known on gold and silver coins of Akbar, but as far as copper coins are concerned, it is known only from Ujjainpur mint[2]. It is 1/8 *dam* weight. The coin illustrated above is from Thatta mint, and 1 *dam* in weight. It is to be noted that silver coins of Akbar from Thatta mint with the term *Allah Akbar* is well known.

Both on the obverse and reverse there is a full circle of dots, indicating that the entire die is accomodated on the flan.

***Rawani* type**

2. Round; wt. 20.52 gm; size 1.6 cm.

Obv: *(967) Sanah (Na)rnol Zarb*
Rev: *Rawani Sanah 4*

The copper coins of Akbar with the term *Rawani* are very few and known only from Bairat mint[3]. Therefore, the mint name Narnol illustrated above is significant.

3. Round; wt. 20.26 gm; size 1.7 cm.

Obv: *Ilahi Bahman*
Rev: *Tanka Akbar Shahi Gooti*

2. *Ibid.*
3. *Standard Catalogue to South Asian Coins and Paper Money Since 1156 AD*, p. 36, Type 30.

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The coins of Akbar are known from many mints, but Gooti was so far not included in the list. Here I published a copper coin of Akbar from this mint, which I feel should be an additional information for the readers.

Gwalior *Zaffar Qarin* type

4. Round; wt. 20.22 gm; size 1.7 cm.

Obv: *37 Ilahi Zaffar Qarin*
Rev: *Gwalior Falus Zarb*

Urdu Zaffar Qarin is well known on the coins of this period and is understood as 'Camp mint'. Here we find *Zaffar Qarin* as an epithet of Gwalior, which is being noted for the first time. It is interesting to note that re-organisation of mints was taken up by Akbar in around AH 985/AD 1577-78, following which only Lahore, Gujarat (Ahmadabad), Jaunpur, Patna (Bihar) and Bengal[4]remained in operation; although some other mints continued to stamp the coins with the mint name *Urdu Zaffar Qarin*. There is evidence to suggest that by 37 Ilahi year, most of the mints which were closed earlier came back into operation[5]. It is quite likely that Gwalior re-opened its operation with mint name in 37 Ilahi year, and therefore the epithet was being used during the period of closure. However, I leave the matter for further and better explanation by the scholars.

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4. J. F. Richardtedt, *The Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India*, OUP, Delhi, 1987, p. 30.
5. *Ibid.*

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26

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON JAHANGIR'S ILAHI-RUPEES OF AGRA

Jan Lingen

The coinage of Jahangir shows a number of innovations and in the series of the Mughal coins attained the highest level of excellence and artistic merit. On the accession of Jahangir the weight of the rupee, for a number of mints, was increased by 20% (*Jahangiri*) and a few years later by 25% (*sawai*). Due to inconvenience in trade, the weight of the rupee was consequently reduced to its original standard.

Another interesting feature of Jahangir's rupee coins struck at Agra is that these coins were struck in square and round shape during alternate months using the Ilahi era.

This topic is the basis for further perusal of this series. When did it exactly start? Were these coins struck during each month? For how long did it last? How did the designs develop ?

Data of Jehangir reign

Akbar died on 12 Jumada II, AH 1014 = 2 Aban 50 Julus[1] = 15/16-10-1605[2]. The date of Jehangir's enthronement is 20 Jumada II, AH 1014 = 10 Aban = AD 14.10.1605. Official date of accession and Julus starts from Nauroz, entrance of the moon into Aries.

1. 50th Julus ends on 10.03.1606.
2. All dates according to Julian calender, for present calender add 10/11 days.

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11 Zi-l-qa'da AH 1014 = AD 11-03-1606.
Jehengir died on 28 Safar 1037 = 15 Aban 22 Julus = AD 28.10.1627.

AH Date	Commences AD	Ilahi-date	Julus	Date Julus commenced
1014	09.05.1605	29 Ardibihist		
1015	29.04.1606	19 Ardibihist	1	11.03.1606
1016	18.04.1607	08 Ardibihist	2	11.03.1607
1017	07.04.1608	28 Farwardin	3	11.03.1608
1018	27.03.1609	17 Farwardin	4	11.03.1609
1019	16.03.1610	06 Farwardin	5	11.03.1610
1020	06.03.1611	26 Isfandarmuz	6	11.03.1611
1021	23.02.1612	15 Isfandarmuz	7	11.03.1612
1022	11.02.1613	03 Isfandarmuz	8	11.03.1613
1023	01.02.1614	13 Bahman	9	11.03.1614
1024	21.01.1615	12 Bahman	10	11.03.1615
1025	10.01.1616	01 Bahman	11	11.03.1616
1026	30.12.1616	19 Dai	12	11.03.1617
1027	19.12.1617	08 Dai	13	11.03.1618
1028	09.12.1618	27 Azar	14	11.03.1619
1029	28.11.1619	16 Azar	15	11.03.1620
1030	16.11.1620	04 Azar	16	11.03.1621
1031	06.11.1621	24 Aban	17	11.03.1622
1032	26.10.1622	13 Aban	18	11.03.1623
1033	15.10.1623	02 Aban	19	11.03.1624
1034	04.10.1614	21 Mihr	20	11.03.1625
1035	23.09.1625	10 Mihr	21	11.03.1625
1036	12.09.1626	30 Shahrewar	22	11.03.1625
1037	02.09.1627	10 Shahrewar		
died	28.10.1627	15 Aban		

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The Ilahi Calender

Coin Shape	Ilahi Month	Zodiac Sign	Number of (month) and days	Date of Commencement according to Julian Cal.	Date of Commencement according to Gregorian Cal.
Round	Farwardin	Aries	(1) 31	11 March	21 March
Square	Ardibihisht	Taurus	(2) 31	11 April	22 April
Round	Khurdad	Gemini	(3) 32	12 May	22 May
Square	Tir	Cancer	(4) 31	12 June	22 June
Round	Amardad	Leo	(5) 31	14 July	24 July
Square	Shahrewar	Virgo	(6) 31	14 August	24 August
Round	Mihr	Libra	(7) 30	14 September	24 September
Square	Aban	Scorpio	(8) 30	14 October	24 October
Round	Azar	Sagittarius	(9) 29	13 November	23 November
Square	Dai	Capricorn	(10) 29	12 December	22 December
Round	Bahman	Aquarius	(11) 30	10 January	21 January
Square	Isfandarmuz	Pisces	(12) 30	09 February	20 February

The coins, especially those of the regnal-years 5 to 7, show an intricate design of high artistic merit. From AH 1022 / RY 8, month Khurdad, the design becomes regular with a square or circular border of lines with dots.

Except for the last two issues, AH 1028 / RY 13, month Bahman and Isfandarmuz, all coins were, without exception, struck either in round or square shape in the corresponding month. No irregularity appears in the series, neither are there any fractions observed.

The initial Ilahi issue was struck in AH 1019 / RY 5, month Mihr, at the *sawai* standard and a next issue of the month Isfandarmuz of the same weight standard. This is the first square Ilahi-coin.

The next issue we find is of AH 1020 / RY 6, month Khurdad, which is struck with normal weight standard of 11.09-11.34 g. A square silver coin, dated AH

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1020 / RY 6 with a beautiful flower border is observed. The coin fails the Ilahi-month. For three months (Tir, Shahrewar and Aban) square coins are known. In the development of design and its weight (11.02 g.) it is suggested that the square coin without the Ilahi-month might have been struck during the 2nd month of the Ilahi year, *viz.* Ardibihisht. This is in accordance with the Memoirs of Jahangir in which he stated that due to the inconvenience in mercentile transactions he gave order that from the 11th Ardibihisht in the 6th year of his reign the *mohurs* and rupees of all the mints of his dominions should be of the same weight as previously[3].

This extensive inventarisation shows that coins have not been observed for all the months, and for several other Ilahi months only a single piece is known. Only of the regnal-year 11 coins have been observed for each month. Especially the early issues struck during the regnal years 5 to 7, with beautiful artistic designs, seem to be rarer than the later issues.

During the first month (Farwardin) of the regnal year 13, Jahangir introduced his famous zodiac series which were first struck at Ahmedabad[4]. At Agra the issue of the silver Ilahi rupees continued upto the last month of the 13th regnal year. With the last two issues the only irregularity observed is that the shape of the coin did not correspond with the month of issue. Beginning with AH 1028 / RY 14 neither square nor Ilahi coins in silver were struck at Agra except for some rare silver zodiac rupees which were struck with dies intended for gold *mohurs*.

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3. A. Ridgers & H. Beveridge, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 3rd. ed., 1978, p. 197.
4. *Ibid.*, 2., pp 6-7.

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Catalogue

Inventory Code	Shape	Ref	Description and Remarks
5/7.1	Round	MWI 3180	Earliest Ilahi rupee, heavy weight (*Sawai*). MWI 3080, ex R.C. Senior coll. (RS 2/670) SO NBH 1612.
5/9.1	Round	SLMC 300	Wrongly attributed to Agra, probably Urdu, see also Urdu *Dar Rah-i-Dakhan* type (LMC 1280) Wt.174 gr. (11.28 gm.).
5/12.1 5/12.2 5/12.3	sq sq. sq.	PMC 963 BMC 432 MWI 3181	*Dar Isfandarmuz ain Sikka ra dar Agra zad bar zar / Shahanshah-i-zaman Shah Jahangir bin Shah Akbar*. (In Isfandarmuz struck this coin on gold in Agra/King of kings of the Age, Shah Jahangir, son of Shah Akbar) (Wt. 14.25 g.) MWI 3181, ex R.C. Senior coll. (RS 2/671).
6/?.1 6/?.2 6/?.3 6/?.4	sq. sq. sq. sq.	BMC 964 RS 2/672 BB Coll. IIRNS	Obv: In inner foliated square, contained in an outer square on flower, field *Jahangir Shah Akbar Shah* Rev: In inner square with small arch in middle of each side with flowered border and field *Zarb Agra sanah 6*.
6/3.1 6/3.2	Round Round	NMC 313 LMC 1306	*Nur-ud-din Jahangir Shah Akbar Shah / Zarb Agra Mah Khurdad sanah Ilahi 6*, 1023 (AH) (Wt. 11.09-11.34 g.).
6/4.1 6/4.2	sq. sq.	JL coll. DLJ coll.	ex SA 11/904; Obv: legend within 8-pointed decorated border Rev: Square with mahrabi-shaped arched in the middle of each side; flowered corners on both sides.

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6/6.1 6/6.2 6/6.3	sq. sq. sq.	LMC 1307 DLJ coll. BB coll.	Obv: Legend within square decorated border Rev: 8-pointed decorated border within square. ex S. L. Goron coll.
6/8.1 6/8.2	sq. sq.	BMC 439 LMC 1308	Obv: legend in circle within square border of dots Rev: legend in circle, scalloped inwards enclosed beaded square border; flowered corners both sides.
6/9.1 6/9.2	Round Round	LMC 1309 JL coll.	Obv: legend in 8-pointed polygon inscribed in a dotted circle Rev: legend in area formed by double mahrab.
6/10.1	sq.	BB coll.	Obv: legend in circle, scalloped inwards inclosed in beaded round border Rev: scalloped and pointed border, flowered corners both sides.
6/11.1 6/11.2 6/11.3	Round Round Round	LMC 1310 SA 84M/56 BB Coll.	
6/12.1 6/12.2	sq. sq.	BMC 441 DLJ coll.	Struck between 15 Isfandermuz - 01 Farwardin same.
7/2.1 7/2.2 7/2.3	sq. sq. sq.	BMC 442 JL coll. BB coll.	ex S. L. Goron coll.
7/3.1 7/3.2	Round Round	SLMC 301 BB coll.	ex S. L. Goron. > RS
7/4.1 7/4.2	sq. sq.	IMC 592 WK 3706	
7/5.1 7/5.2	Round Round	IMC 593 SA 92/112	legend within square with arches in segments / ornamental area enclosed in double circle with dots between.

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7/6.1	sq.	JL coll.	legend within octagon within double square with dots in between ornaments in corners / scalloped square within square.
7/7.1	Round.	LMC 1311	legend within scalloped circle within circle / In octagon formed of intersecting hexagons, ornaments in interstices in circle.
7/8.1	sq.	JL coll.	Legend within ornamental square / circle with scalloped arches in the corners within square.
7/11.1	Round	SLMC 302	Mint-name on top and Ilahi month below.
7/11.2	Round	ONS-NL 141	
8/2.1	sq.	PMC 965	Obv. and Rev. legend within quardruple square.
8/2.2	sq.	LMC 1312	
8/2.3	sq.	SA 69/446	
8/3.1	Round	JL coll.	Obv. and Rev. legend within double dotted circle. This design is used for all the later issues, whether round or square.
8/4.1	sq.	JL coll.	Of the RY 8, month Tir, an imitation in gold is also known.
8/4.2	sq.	DLJ coll.	
8/5.1	Round	SA 92/111	
8/5.2	Round	PMC 965	
8/5.3	Round	RS 2/673	
8/5.4	Round	IIRNS	
8/6.1	sq.	PMC 967	
8/6.2	sq.	IMC 594	
8/6.3	sq.	SCA 20/461	
8/7.1	Round	BB coll.	ex John S. Deyell coll.
8/7.2	Round	PG 32/291	
8/7.3	Round	SA 93/533	
8/8.1	sq.	BB coll.	
8/9.1	Round	LMC 1313	
8/10.1	sq.	LMC 1314	
8/11.1	Round	LMC 1315	

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9/1.1 9/1.2	Round Round	NMC 314 LMC 1316	Mint name on top and Ilahi month below.
9/2.1	sq.	LMC 1316a	
9/3.1 9/3.2	Round Round	BMC 453 SA 93/534	
9/4.1	sq.	LMC1317	
9/6.1	sq.	SA 92/115	
9/7.1 9/7.2	Round Round	IMC 595 BB coll.	
9/9.1	Round	SA 56/1258	
9/10.1 9/10.2 9/10.3 9/10.4 9.10.5	sq. sq. sq. sq. sq.	PMC 968 SA 40/1044 NMC 315 DLJ coll. BB coll.	
10/1.1	Round	SA 11/906	
10/2.1	sq.	STZ 37/44la	The same coin was later offered for sale, see list SA.
10/4.1	sq.	JL coll.	
10/5.1	Round	LMC 1318	
10/7.1 10/7.2	Round Round	RS 2/674 IIRNS	
10/8.1	sq.	IIRNS	
10/10.1	sq.	DLJ coll.	
10/11.1	Round	IMC 596	
10/12.1 10/12.2	sq. sq.	SA 63/94 LMC 1319	
11/1.1 11/1.2 11/1.3 11/1.4	Round Round Round Round	IMC LMC 1320 LMC 1321 MWI 3184	

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11/2.1 11/2.2	sq. sq.	BB coll. DLJ coll	ex SA 31/1209
11/3.1	Round	PMC 969	
11/4.1 11/4.2	sq. sq.	PMC 970 SA 51/1040	
11/5.1 11/5.2	Round Round	NMC 316 SA 84M/58	
11/6.1 11/6.2 11/6.3 11/6.4	sq. sq. sq. sq.	BMC 458 BMC 459 SLMC 303 DLJ coll.	
11/7.1	Round	JL coll.	
11/8.1	sq.	IIRNS	
11/9.1 11/9.2 11/9.3 11/9.4	Round Round Round Round	PMC 971 LMC 1322 RS 2/675 IIRNS	
11/10.1 11/10.2 11/10.3 11/10.4 11/10.5 11/10.6 11/10.7	sq. sq. sq. sq. sq. sq. sq.	SA 51/1040 NMC 317 BMC 464 LMC 1326 SA 51/1041 PG 27/354 DLJ coll.	1025 AH/RY.11, struck from 01 - 18 Dai (1212-29/12/1616) 1026 AH/RY 11, struck from 19 Dai - 29 Dai (30/12/1616-09/01/1617)
11/11.1	Round	RS 2/676	
11/11.2	Round	IIRNS	
11/12.1 11/12.2	sq. sq.	IMC 598 SA 24/1130	
12/1.1 12/1.2	Round Round	IMC 599 LMC 1324	

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12/2.1 12/2.2 12/2.3 12/2.4 12/2.5 12/2.6	sq. sq. sq. sq. sq. sq.	IMC 600 LMC 1325 WK 3707 SA 76/108 RS 2/678 IIRNS	
12/3.1	Round	LMC 1326	
12/4.1 12/4.2 12/4.3 12/4.4	sq. sq. sq. sq.	BMC 465 PMC 972 RS 2/677 IIRNS	Of RY 12 month Tir, an imitation in gold is also known (Lucknow Museum).
12/5.1	Round	SA 65/437	
12/6.1	sq.	SA 87/453	
12/8.1 12/8.2 12/8.3	sq. sq. sq.	PMC 973 SA 40/1045 SA 72/105	
13/2.1 13/2.2	sq. sq.	SA 11/907 BB coll.	ex S. L. Goron coll.
13/6.1	sq.	SA 92/117	
13/7.1	Round	SA 35/1479	
13/8.1	sq.	BMC 474	
13/11.1	sq.	SA 98/118	This coin, struck in the month Bahman, should have been of round shape.
13/12.1	Round	LMC 1327	This coin struck in the month Isfandarmuz should have been of square shape.

Note: The notes on coins with the reference IIRNS have been taken from the Photo-Archives of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik. Most of these were provided by R.C. Senior, and the reference to RS and IIRNS might in most cases refer to the same coin.

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Inventory of the silver rupees of Agra, alternatively struck in round and square shape

Month	Farw.	Ard.	Khur.	Tir	Amar.	Shehr.	Mihr	Aban	Azar	Dai	Bahm.	Isfand.
Shape	O	□	O	□	O	□	O	□	O	□	O	□
Month/ AH/RY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sawai 1019/5							5/7.1		(5/9.1)			5/12.1 5/12.2 5/12.3
Rupee 1020/6		6/?.1 6/?.2 6/?.3 6/?.4	6/3.1 6/3.2	6/4.1 6/4.2		6/6.1 6/6.2 6/6.3		6/8.1 6/8.2	6/9.1 6/9.2	6/10.1	6/11.1 6/11.2 6/11.3	
1021/6												6/12.1 6/12.2
1021/7		7/2.1 7/2.2 7/2.3	7/3.1 7/3.2	7/4.1 7/4.2	7/5.1 7/5.2	7/6.1	7/7.1	7/8.1			7/11.1 7/11.2	
Shape	0	□	0	□	0	□	0	□	0	□	0	□
Month/ AH/RY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1021/7												
1022/8		8/2.1 8/2.2 8/2.3	8/3.1	8/4.1 8/4.2	8/5.1 8/5.2 8/5.3 8/5.4	8/6.1 8/6.2	8/7.1 8/7.2 8/7.3	8/8.1	8/9.1	8/10.1		
1023/8											8/11.1	
1023/9	9/1.1 9/1.2	9/2.1	9/3.1 9/3.2	9/4.1		9/6.1	9/7.1 9/7.2		9/9.1	9/10.1 9/10.2 9/10.3 9/10.4 9/10.5		
1024/9												
1024/10	10/1.1	10/2.1		10/4.1	10/5.1		10/7.1 10/7.2	10/8.1		10/10.1		
1025/10											10/11.1	10/12.1 10/12.2
Shape	O	□	O	□	O	□	O	□	O	□	O	□
Month/ AH/RY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1025/11	11/1.1 11/1.2 11/1.3 11/1.4	11/2.1 11/2.2	11/3.1	11/4.1 11/4.2	11/5.1 11/5.2	11/6.1 11/6.2 11/6.3 11/6.4	11/7.1	11/8.1	11/9.1 11/9.2 11/9.3 11/9.4	11/10.1		

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Month	Farw.	Ard.	Khur.	Tir	Amar.	Shehr.	Mihr	Aban	Azar	Dai	Bahm.	Isfa.
1026/11										11/10.2 11/10.3 11/10.4 11/10.5 11/10.6 11/10.7	11/11.1 11/11.2	11/12.1 11/12.2
1026/12	12/1.1 12/1.2	12/2.1 12/2.2 12/2.3 12/2.4 12/2.5 12/2.6	12/3.1	12/4.1 12/4.2 12/4.3 12/4.4	12/5.1	12/6.1		12/8.1 12/8.2 12/8.3				
1027/12												
1027/13		13/2.1 13/2.2				13/6.1	13/7.1	13/8.1				
1028/13											13/11.1	13/12.1
1028/14												
1029/14												

Abbreviations

BB coll.	Collection Bernd Becker, Ulmen, Germany.
BMC	Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum*, London, 1892.
CMN	V.P. Rhode, *Catalogue of Coins in the Central Museum Nagpur*, Bombay, 1969.
DLJ coll.	Collection Daulal Johri, Indore, India.
IMC	H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta; 3, Mughal Emperors of India*, Oxford, 1908.
IIRNS	Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies (Photo Archives).
JL coll.	Collection Jan Lingen, Bergambacht, Netherlands.
LMC	C.J. Brown, *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow*, *Oxford*, 1920.
MWI	Michael Mitchiner, *The World of Islam*, Sanderstead, 1977.
ONS-NL	Oriental Numismatic Society - Newsletter.
PG	Persic Gallery.
PMC	R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Oxford, 1914.
RS	R.C. Senior Ltd.
SA	Stephen Album
SA 84 M	Stephen Album, Special list 84-M of Mughal silver coins.
SCA	Singapore Coin Auction.
SLMC	C.R. Singhal, *Supplementary Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the State Museum, Lucknow*, Lucknow 1965.
SO.NBH	Sotheby's The Nelson Bunker Hunt Collection, Islamic coins sale, 4 April 1991.
STZ	Spink Taisei Zurich.
WK	L. Schulman, White King Collection, sale 26 June 1905, Amsterdam.

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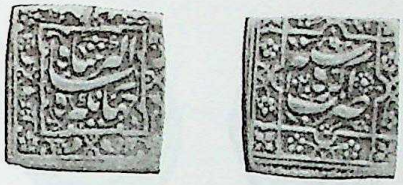
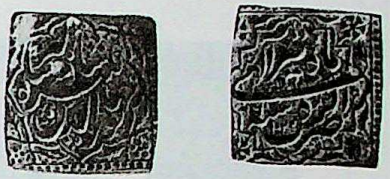
5/7.1

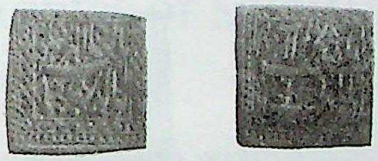
5/12.3



6/?.4



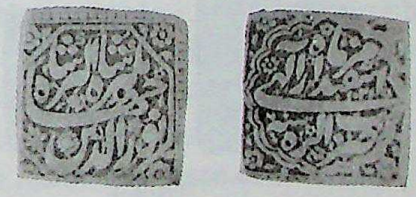
6/4.2



6/6.3

6/9.2

6/11.3



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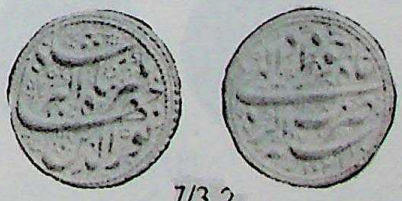

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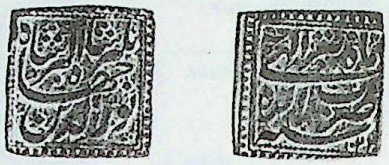

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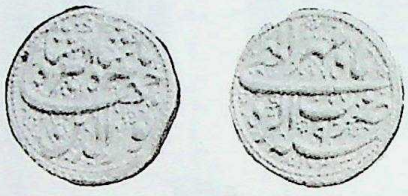

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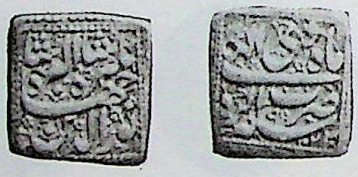

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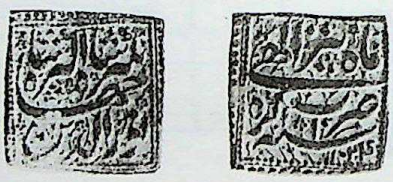

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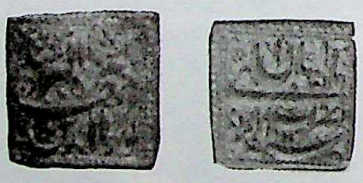

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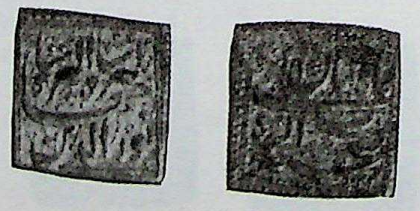

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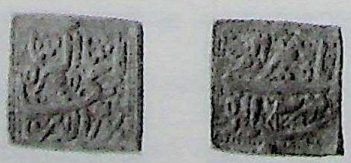

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27

PARODIES OF MUGHAL COIN-COUPLETS

Sanjay Garg

The use of Persian verses in the form of *bait-i-sikka* (coin-couplet) on the coins of the Mughal emperors can be traced from the time of Akbar. A variety of couplets were used by various mints during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan, Aurangzeb and the later Mughals, and these couplets are found inscribed on the coins of these rulers. However, what has really missed the notice of the numismatists and coin-collectors, are the parodies of certain coin-couplets which have been mentioned by quite a few contemporary chroniclers. These parodies were prevalent in the contemporary society in the same fashion as these coins were.

I record here few such parodies which I have come across, for the benefit of interested readers.

1. Aurangzeb

Coin couplet: سکہ زد در جہان چو مہر منیر
شاہ اورنگ زیب عالم گیر

Sikka zad der jahan chu Mihr Munir
Shah Aurangzeb Alamgir

(Struck coin in the world like the shining Shah Aurangzeb 'Alamgir)

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Parody: سکہ زد بقرص پنیر
اورنگ زیب برادر کش پدر گیر

Sikka zad ba qurs-i-panir
Aurangzeb beradar Kush pidar gir
(Struck coin upon a round cake of cheese;
Aurangzeb - brother slayer, father seizer)

The above parody is said to have been composed by Shah Abbas of Persia. According to Manucci, in the year 1663, Aurangzeb had deputed one Tarbiyat Khan as his ambassador to the court of Shah Abbas. The envoy was loaded with choicest presents for the Shah, including gold and silver coins bearing the usual coin-couplet of Aurangzeb (mentioned above). However, the Mughal ambassador was not received well at the Iranian Court; he was ill-treated and mocked upon. Manucci[1] writes:

> "One day Shah 'Abbas.....asked, if he had any coin of Hindustan.....The ambassador replied in affirmative, and produced some coins of gold and of silver. On these was written.:
>
> *Secazad der jahan chun bader manir Xaa Orangzeb Alamgir"*
> *[Sikka zad dar jahan chun badr-i-munir shah Aurangzeb Alamgir]*
>
> "Shah Abbas returned the coins to the ambassador, directing him to read aloud the words stamped on the coins.... This was done, and on observing silence, he said that on the coins there should not appear such words, but these:
>
> *Sicazad bacurs pevir Orangzeb beradercox padergir"*
> *[Sikka zad ba aars-i-panir*
> *Aurangzeb baradar-Kush pidargir]*

1. William Irwine (Trans.) *Storia do Mogor or Mughal India 1653-1706, by Niccolo Manucci*, 2, New Delhi, 1981 (rep.), pp. 121-22.
For a different version of Tarbiyat Khan's treatment in Persia, see also Alexander Dow, *History of Hindustan* 3, London, 1803, pp. 400-02.

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2. Farrukhsiyar

Coin Couplet: سکہ زد از فضل حق چو سیم و زر
بادشاہ بحر و بر فرخ سیر

Sikka zad az Fazl-i-Haq chu sim-o-zar
Badshah-i-bahr-o-bar, Farrukhsiyar

(Struck coin on silver and gold by the grace of the truth (God); Monarch of the sea and land, Farrukhsiyar)

Parody: سکہ زد بر گندم و موتھ و مٹر
بادشاہ دانا کش فرخ سیر

Sikka zad bar gandum-o-moth-o-matar
Badshah-i-Danakash, Farrukhsiyar

(Struck coin on wheat, lentils and peas;
The grain-gathering Emperor, Farrukhsiyar)

The above parody is said to have been composed by the Urdu poet Mir Muhammad Jafar 'Zatalli'[2]. According to Beale, he was a resident of Narnol (near Delhi) and was most celebrated humouristic poet of Hindustan[3]. He was allegedly put to death in AD 1713 by the orders of Farrukhsiyar "on account of a satirical verse he had written on the accession of that emperor to the throne of Delhi"[4]. It seems quite probable that the alleged 'satirical verse' was none other than the parody of the Persian couplet found on Farrukhsiyar's coin of the initial regnal year.

3. Akbar Shah II

Coin-Couplet: سکہ زد در جہان ز فضل الہ
حامی دین محمد اکبر شاہ

Sikka zad dar jahan ze Fazl-i-Ilah
Hami-i-Din-i-Muhammad, Akbar Shah

(Struck coin in the world by the grace of Allah;
Defender of the faith of Muhammad, Akbar Shah)

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2. For a short note on Zatalli and his works, see Irwine, *op.cit.*, pp. 402-03.
3. T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, ed. by H. G. Keene, (rep. Ludhiana, 1972), p. 189.
4. *Ibid.*

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Parody:

سکہ زد در جہان و چھپر کرد قلع را تباہ
حامی دین نصارا شاہ نکھٹو بادشاہ

Sikka zad-dar jahan-o-Chhappar kard qila' ra tabah
Hami-i-Din-i-Nasara, Shah Nikhattu Badshah

(Struck coin in the world and destroyed the thatch roof of the Fort Defender of the faith of the English, the idle Emperor)

The parody was first published by Rodgers, who had assigned it to Shah 'Alam II[5]. According to him, this parody was composed by the 'naughty children of Delhi, when poor Shah 'Alam was blind and when the English held possession of the empire...' He goes on to add — '" strongly suspect they were big children who made this parody and not only big but bigoted. (N.B. No pun is intend)".

However, I am inclined to attribute this parody to the coin couplet of Akbar Shah II, for two reasons. Firstly, the first line of the parody contains the words *Sikka zad dar jahan* which are identical with the couplet found on the coins of this ruler's puppetary reign during the interregnum of AD 1788[6]. On the other hand, no coin of Shah Alam II is reported to have a couplet which include these words. Secondly, the satire on the dependancy of the 'idle' Mughal ruler on the English is more applicable to Akbar Shah II than to Shah Alam II (d. 1806), who was 'dependant' more on the Marathas than on the English[7].

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5. C. Rodgers, "Couplets on Coins of Kings after the time of Jahangir", *JASB*, 7, i, 1888, p. 27.
6. For details see Sanjay Garg, "Coins of Two Mughal Puppets" in *ND*, 10, 1986, p. 141; S.K. Punshi, "A Silver Coin of Puppet Muhammad Akbar Shah", *ND*, 11, 1987, pp. 87-88.
7. Mahdi Hussain, "Contest for legal sovereignty between the last three Mughal Emperors and the East India Company (A study based on contemporary evidence)", *JASB*, 17, 3, pp. 35-63.

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28

COINS OF NIZAM SHAHI SULTANATE OF AHMEDNAGAR

Aravind S. Athavale

Historical Survey

The Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar was one of the five[1] kingdoms, popularly called as Deccani Sultanates, which emerged from the ruins of the Bahamani Sultanate in the last quarter of 15th century AD. The Nizamshahi lineage originated from Khalif Hasan, who was a Brahmin convert. He came into prominence under Mahmud Gawan and rose to the cadre of 'Malik', from which followed the name of the Nizamshahi dynasty. Khalif Hasan led the faction of 'Deccan' nobles at the Bahamani court. After the death of Mahmud Gawan, the Bahamani authority rapidly declined, and Khalif Hasan began to exercise considerable autonomy in western Maharashtra.

Malik Ahmed, the son of Khalif Hasan, formally severed the links with Bahamanis and initiated his independent rule from Junnar. In AD 1494, he founded a new city, besides a tiny village named Bhingar that lay en route from Junnar to Daulatabad, named it 'Ahmednagar', constructed a fort, and made it his capital. He was an able Sultan and is accredited with construction of several important buildings at Ahmednagar, such as the "Hasht-Bihisht Baug". He died in AD 1507. At the time of his death, the nascent Ahmednagar kingdom comprised of the Maval tracts, parts of Deccan including Daulatabad and the Konkan strip from Thane downwards upto Rajapur.

1. The other four kingdoms were the Imadshahi (at Gawilgarh in Berar; the Adilshahi (at Bijapur); the Qutbshahi (at Golkunda); and the Baridshahi (at Bidar).

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Burhan I, who succeeded his father at the age of seven, came under the influence of Shah Tahir, a shi'ite religious preacher from Persia who had sought asylum at Ahmednagar. In his religious fervour, Burhan I resorted to spread the Shi'ite faith forcibly, and brought misery upon the non-Shi'ites by religious persecution. These developments had political repercussions and a series of battles with neighbouring Sultanates followed. The chaotic scene gave a chance to the Vijayanagar empire, which increased its boundaries beyond Krishna river under the illustrious Krishnadevaraya. A noted feature of Burhan I's reign was the increasing access given to local Marathas in administrative matters, and this trend was largely due to Kanho Narasi, a Maratha Dewan of Burhan I.

Hussain Nizamshah succeeded Burhan I. The most important event of his reign was the unprecedented unity of all the Deccani Sultanates against Vijayanagar, which was achieved largely due to Hussain's diplomatic skills. The Vijayanagar army was trounced at Talikota in AD 1565, and Hussain died soon after.

In the reign of Murtaza I, the son of Hussain, the Ahmednagar kingdom made remarkable territorial gains. One such gain was the recovery of North Konkan from Vijayanagar after the battle of Talikota. The administrative headquarter of this area was Chaul, which was renamed 'Murtazabad'.

The eastward expansion of Nizamshahi was a result of ambitious plans of Janghis Khan, the Dewan of Murtaza I. After successfully leading a campaign against the Adilshahi of Bijapur, Janghis Khan added the fort of Dharur and vast tracts of Marathwada to the Nizamshahi domains. He then secured a treaty with the Adilshahis. A joint expedition of Nizamshahi-Adilshahi forces then marched on to Gawilgarh, the Imadshahi capital, and in the ensuing battle Tufail Khan, the Imadshahi ruler, was killed and the Imadshahi territory annexed. The boundaries of the Nizamshahis thus extended upto Khandesh, and Murtaza I became the overlord of 1/3rd of present-day Maharashtra.

The increasing importance of Janghis Khan was not liked by many other court nobles, and they conspired against him. Murtaza fell prey to this conspiracy and killed Janghis Khan. Later, however, in a coup staged by the nobles, Murtaza was executed and his son, Miran Hussain, ascended the throne.

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Miran Hussain was an unworthy ruler and, during his reign, the dissension between *Deccani* and *Pardesi* (foreign) Muslims took a serious turn and a massacre of *Pardesi* Muslims followed. The Shah, himself a *Deccani*, lent his full support. However, the situation soon went out of his hands and he was murdered by Jamal Khan, the leader of the rebels. Jamal Khan then made Ismail, son of Burhan and a nephew of Murtaza I, the Sultan of Ahmednagar.

Burhan had earlier defected to the Mughals owing to a family feud with Murtaza I, but now saw an excellent opportunity in the factional fights at Ahmednagar court to gain the throne for himself. He asked for Akbar's assistance, and the Mughal army escorted Burhan to the Deccan. Burhan then captured Ahmednagar, and proclaimed himself the Sultan as Burhan II in AD 1591.

Burhan II was involved in a conflict with the Portuguese, but the campaign ended in a failure and Chaul lost to the Portuguese. Burhan II died soon after in AD 1594. His son, Ibrahim, was not an able ruler and, within four months of his accession, was killed in a battle with the Adilshashis of Bijapur.

The factional fights in Nizamshahi court then took a serious turn. There existed two factions at Ahmednagar, and each put forth a contender for the throne. Mian Anju, leading one faction, installed one Ahmed on the throne. The other faction was led by Chandbibi, the widowed daughter of Burhan I. She ousted Ahmed and proclaimed Bahadur, her own puppet, as the Sultan. Mian Anju asked Prince Murad, the Mughal Governor of Gujarat, to intervene. The Mughal army stormed Ahmednagar fort and secured a breach in its ramparts, but was repulsed. However, Chandbibi knew she couldn't afford to prolong the offensive, so she agreed to cede the province of Berar to the Mughals, and then began to rule as regent for Bahadur. She also kept her links with Bijapur strongly secured.

The Mughals again attacked the eastern portion of Nizamshahi kingdom, and the joint armies of Nizamshahi and Adilshahi were heavily defeated at Sonpeth, Marathwada, in AD 1597. Two years later Danyal, Akbar's second son, easily marched to Ahmednagar fort and, following the death of Chandbibi, won over the leaderless fort of Ahmednagar and the city. Bahadur Nizamshah was imprisoned and Danyal appointed the Governor of Ahmednagar.

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However, although the Mughals occupied the capital, the nobles of Nizamshahi court controlled the greater part of the kingdom. Malik Amber was prominent among them. He was originally an Abyssinian slave working under Janghis Khan, but later rose to importance in the court. He temporarily set up a seat of government at fort Parenda, placed a grandson of Burhan II on the throne as Murtaza II, and became the *de facto* ruler for the next two years. He made effective use of this lease of time to bring peace and order to his kingdom. He introduced the system of Raja Todarmall for land-assessment and revenue settlement in the Deccan. In AD 1607, Malik captured Daulatabad and shifted his capital there. He also regained much of the lost Nizamshahi lands. The high point of his rule came in AD 1610, when he fought successfully against the Mughal army of Prince Pervez, specially sent by Jehangir, and regained the fort and city of Ahmednagar.

In the same year, Malik Amber suspected that the reigning Sultan Murtaza II was conspiring against him by secretly negotiating with the Mughals, and removed him in favour of his five year old son (Burhan III). In AD 1612, Malik founded a new city at Khadki near Daulatabad with a view to making it the new capital. Within two years he scored a memorable victory over the Mughals near Daulatabad. To commemorate this event, Khadki was renamed "Fatehnagar"[2]. Between AD 1614 and 1620, Malik fought relentlessly against the Mughals, and managed to defeat them at several places. He was aided by his Maratha sardars, and Shahaji Bhonsle, the fathers of Shivaji, was one of his trusted allies. Jehangir sent Prince Khurram to put an end to this threat and, in AD 1617, Malik surrendered to Khurram. However, he soon resumed hostilities and laid a siege to Burhanpur. Khurram then retaliated by pushing Malik southwards to Khadki, and making him submit to a treaty dictated by the Mughals. Later, however, Malik Amber gave asylum to Prince Khurram in the latter's struggle with Jehangir, and this stood the Nizamshahis in good stead when Khurram became the Emperor.

The last important event of Malik Amber's life was a crushing defeat that his forces inflected on the joint armies of the Adilshahis and Mughals at Bhatodi near Ahmednagar. Shahaji Bhonsle was the architect of this victory and, after this

2. The same town was later renamed as Aurangabad by Aurangzeb.

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event, Shahaji's influence at the Nizamshahi court increased considerably. Malik Amber died in AD 1626 at the age of 80.

After his death, his son Fateh Khan became the Dewan. He entered into a dispute with Burhan III and killed him in AD 1632. A boy named Hussain III was then made the Sultan. Fateh Khan also conspired against, and killed, Lakhoji Jadhavrao, an eminent Maratha noble and Shahaji Bhonsle's father-in-law. These events displeased Shahaji and he sought help from Bijapur to have Fateh Khan ousted. A battle was fought near Daulatabad in which the Shahaji-Adilshahi combine was defeated. Strangely enough, Fateh Khan suddenly changed sides and joined Shahaji to resume the conflict. This annoyed the Mughal general Mahabat Khan. The Mughals sacked Daulatabad, and Fateh Khan was imprisoned with his puppet Hussain III, the Nizamshahi Sultan.

Shahaji Bhonsle fled the battlefield and tried vehemently to resurrect the Nizamshahi kingdom. He installed Murtaza III at a make-shift capital on fort Pemgiri (Shahgad). Shahaji, who had sympathy of several Maratha *sardars* and the Adilshahis of Bijapur, became the *de facto* ruler. Meanwhile, Shahjehan decided to annex Nizamshahi to Mughal territories and put an end to the Deccani affairs for good. Ultimately, in AD 1636, Shahaji surrendered to the Mughals at Mahuli, near Thane. Thus ended the Nizamshahi lineage of Ahmednagar.

The Nizamshahi Coinage

The early Nizamshahi rulers did not issue coins independently. However, there are instances in numismatic literature where coins are attributed to Malik Ahmed[3] and Burhan[4]. But these coins are not illustrated, and as such their attribution is doubtful. The first ruler to issue coins unquestionably was Murtaza I.

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3. R. P. Jackson, "The Dominion, Emblem and Coins of the South Indian Dyansties", *British Numismatic Journal*, 9, pp. 374-376.
4. P. L. Gupta and Mhd. Abdul Wali Khan, *Copper Coins of Barid Shahi of Bidar and Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar*, BACRI Numismatic Bulletin, 2, Hyderabad, 1982, p. 18. The coins are described as anonymous issues bearing a date 929. Most probably it is the date 992, wrongly engraved, and therefore the coins should be ascribed to Murtaza I. See also F. J. Thanawala, "Some Rare Copper Coins of Nizam Shahi or Ahmednagar Dynasty of Deccan", *NS*, 7, 1907, pp. 51-53.

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The Nizamshahi coins are either anonymous, or bear the names of 'Burhan' or 'Murtaza'. As such, the dates of their issue provide the sole testimony for their attribution. A significant aspect of the dates on Nizamshahi coins is that they are specified in the Shuhur era. This era was started during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq and was popular in the Deccan even in the days of Maratha supremacy. It runs parallel to the Hijri, but ante-dates it by 3-4 years[5]. Strangely enough, this aspect of the dating of Nizamshahi coins has been totally overlooked. The dates have been assumed to be in Hijri in all the published literature so far, even though the coins clearly bear the inscription *Fi Shuhur sanah* ... (in the Shuhur year...) preceding the date. However, so far as the attribution of coins to individual rulers is concerned, not much harm is done even on assumng the dates to be in Hijri, as the difference between Shuhur and Hijri eras is not much.

On the basis of dates, Nizamshahi coins can be attributed to Murtaza I, Burhan II, Murtaza II and Burhan III. The bulk of Nizamshahi coinage is of copper and, until recently, no coin of any other metal was known. Few years back, a gold coin of Murtaza I was offered for sale at an auction[6]. The same has been listed by Rajgor[7]. It is said that these coins surfaced somewhere in 1980's in a lot of about 5-6 specimens. The other specimens cannot be traced. Thus, the coin is the sole gold specimen known to this day. It has several important features, and these are described here in some detail.

An important observation about this coin is its low weight (8 gm). This weight standard is considerably lower than the usual standard of south Indian gold coins. A significant fact about this standard is that after about hundred years, the same was employed by Shivaji when he struck his *hoans*. Seen against the fact that much of Shivaji's domain included areas from the erstwhile Nizamshahi kingdom, it must be admitted that the weight standard had a lasting influence. Another prominent feature of this coin is that it bears the Shi'ite version of the *Kalima* on

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5. G. H. Khare, *Samshodhakacha Mitra* (Marathi), Pune, 1957, p. 42.
6. Singapore Coin Auction, Spink-Taisei catalogue 9, 20th Feb. 1991, lot. no. 315, p. 37, Plate 13.
7. Dilip Rajgor, *Standard Catalogue of Sultanate Coins of India*, Bombay, 1991, Type 7, p. 2.

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obverse, wherein the distich *Ali-wali-ullah* (Ali, the divine saint) is incorporated with the usual *Mohammad-ur-rasool-allah* (Muhammad is the Prophet of the God). This is the solitary example of the use of Shi'ite creed in the entire series of Indian Islamic coins. This fact adds to the significance of the coin.

Copper coins of the Nizamshahi dynasty offer an interesting range of denominations and varieties. In the past, they have been discussed and classified by M. A. Wali Khan and A. H. Siddiqui. As per Wali Khan's classification, the denominations have been grouped into 1, 2/3rd, 1/2 and 1/4th units. Here, we bring to notice a denomination of 1/8th unit for the first time. The coins usually exhibit a great variance in the weight, often in the range of 2 gm for larger units and 1 gm for smaller units. It is therefore difficult sometimes to distinguish the lower denominations, especially the 2/3rd and 1/2 units. The denomination term current in Nizamshahi domains was so far unknown, hence the use of a homonymous term "unit" was followed. We have brought to notice a coin-type of Murtaza I here, on which the word *Falus* is clearly seen. It indicates that the denomination term was, indeed, *Falus*. These coins are important and are discussed further in some detail.

Coins of Murtaza I

The first type of Murtaza I's coins are issues from the Ahmednagar mint. However, they bear the shortened form of the mint-name as *Nagar*. The obverse of these coins bear the king's name and the legend *Murtaza zarb Nagar*, while the reverse bears *Fi Shuhur sanah...* followed by a date. This type can be classified into two broad varieties depending on the style in which the word *Nagar* is engraved, and arrangement of the obverse legend. In variety A, *zarb* appears below *Murtaza*, and *Nagar* is seen in a somewhat elongated form as نگـــر . In variety B, *zarb* appears at the top and "Nagar" is written as نگر . In variety A, five denominations, namely 1, 2/3rd, 1/2, 1/4th and 1/8th *Falus*, have been encountered. In variety B, we so far know only 2/3rd and 1 *Falus*, but surely other denominations also existed.

The second type of Murtaza I's coins is being described here for the first time. The reverse of these coins bear the same *Fi Shuhur Sanah...* legend. But the obverse legend is different. It incorporates the word *Falus*. However, the entire legend remains to be deciphered satisfactorily. A full die representation is shown in the

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catalogue section. There are two characters above *Murtaza* which are difficult to read. One of them is a semicircle and could well be *Noon* (ن). The second character precedes the semicircle and it is like an inverted walking-stick. It may be anything like *Pa*, *Ba*, *Ta*, *Sa*, or *Ma*. The absence of *Nuqtas* make the reading even more difficult. Since the obverse legend has the word *zarb*, one is tempted to read the word as *Murtazabad*, but then the word is usually written as *Murtazaabad* (مرتضیٰ ابا), and there is no trace of *Alif* on the coin. As such, this legend presents a coundrum and nothing conclusive can be said about it.

A considerable number of Bahamani and Gujarat coins counterstruck with Types 1 and 2 legends have been encountered. Such coins are being reported for the Nizamshahi Sultanate for first time. These are simply the counterstriking of copper coins coming into the Nizamshahi areas as media of trade. These counterstruck issues include coins of Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah I, Mahmud bin Latif, Ghiyasuddin Ahmed Shah III (Sultans of Gujarat), Mahmud bin Muhammad and Humayun Shah bin Ahmed (Bahamani Sultans) as undertypes. Along with these coins, a curious "mule" has also been listed which bears *Fi Shahur Sanah*....." on both sides.

Coins of Burhan II

His coins can be classified into three types. The first two are anonymous and bear the mint name *Burhanabad*. This name was given by Burhan II to the adjacent town of Bhingar. It is also known as Burhannagar.

Type I of Burhanabad mint bears the epithet *Dar-us-Saltanat*. The obverse legend on these coins is *zarb Dar-us-Saltanat Burhanabad* (Struck at Burhanabad, the seat of Sultanate) while the reverse bears *Fi Shuhur sanah Inda wa Alf* [in the Shuhur year one thousand and one]. Based on the calligraphy of these legends, the coins can be classified into two varieties. Variety 1 shows a superior calligraphy and overall execution of these coins is artistic. They show a numerical date 1001 on the *be* of *zarb* on obverse. Variety 2 coins are crude, and they do not bear the numerical date. A different legend arrangement has been encountered for variety 1 coins, where *Fi Shuhur sanah* portion of the reverse legend is seen on top. This arrangement is previously unpublished. The known denominations for variety 1 are 1/4th, 1/2 and 1 *Falus* while, for variety 2, they are 1/2, 2/3rd

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and 1 *Falus*. We include in the catalogue section 1/8th and 2/3 *Falus* for variety 1 for the first time.

The next two types of Burhan II's coins are entirely new. Type II is anonymous, and coins of this type have *zarb Burhanabad* arranged in a *Tughra* on both sides. These are undated, and their attribution to Burhan II is tentative. Two denominations, 2/3rd and 1 *Falus*, are reported here.

Type III of Burhan II's coins is important because these coins bear a hitherto unknown mint name, *Murtazabad*. Evidently therefore, they were struck at Chaul, the administrative headquarters of Nizamshahi Konkan, then called Murtazabad. Coins of this type are exceedingly rare, and known specimens are badly struck. Out of the few specimens encountered, the best pair is illustrated in the catalogue section. The coins show only portions of the legends and tentatively the obverse legend is restored as *Burhan Shah Ghazi*, while the reverse bears *zarb Murtazabad*. The coins are not struck in the usual Nizamshahi standard and weigh 2 gm. They were probably issued in a local coastal denomination, convenient for trade. An interesting fact is the successor coinage of the Portuguese at Chaul, which also has denominations issued in this standard. It is probable that Burhan II issued these coins during the protracted but unsuccessful campaign against the Portuguese.

Coins of Murtaza II

They can be classified into three types as issues of Ahmednagar, Daulatabad and Parenda mints. The coins of Daulatabad mint have been extensively described by Siddiqui[8], and consequently they are not listed in the catalogue section here. The coins of Ahmednagar mint bear *Murtaza zarb Ahmednagar* on obverse and *Fi Shuhur sanah* followed by the date on the reverse. These can be classified into two varieties, depending on the arrangement of the legend. Variety 1 bears *zarb* at the top, while variety 2 shows it below *Murtaza*. Denominations of 1, 2/3rd, 1/2, and 1/4th *Falus* are known to exist in both varieties. So far only two dates, *viz.*, 1011 and 1017, are known for Murtaza II's Ahmednagar issues.

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8. A. H. Siddiqui, "Copper coins of later Nizam Shahi Kings", *Numismatic Studies*, 3, Delhi, 1993, pp. 98-99.

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The coins of Parenda mint were first described by Siddiqui[9], and he classifies them into two varieties depending on the obverse legend. According to him, some coins bear *Murtaza Nizam Shah Ghazi*, while others bear *Murtaza Nizam Shah Adil*. Elsewhere[10], Siddiqui provides clear photographs of these coins. After scrutinizing these photographs closely, it is apparent that what is read as *Adil* by Siddiqui is only a crude rendering of the word *Ghazi* itself. It is thus probable that there exists only one variety of Murtaza II's Parenda coins. The obverse legend of these coins is not satisfactorily deciphered yet. Siddiqui reads it as mentioned above, but some of the coins seen by us showed words like *ibn* incorporated on the obverse. Siddiqui's reading is accepted by us while cataloguing these coins, but the coins deserve a careful re-examination so far as the obverse legend is concerned. The known denominations for Parenda mint include 1, 2/3rd and 1/2 *Falus*, but we bring to light a 1/4th *Falus*.

Coins of Burhan III

He was the last Nizamshahi king to strike coins in his name. His coins can be classified into three types. The first two bear the mint-names *Ahmednagar* and *Daulatabad* respectively, while the third type is mintless. A coin of Parenda mint was ascribed to Burhan III by Siddiqui[11], but on examining the photograph provided, we feel that it is an issue of Murtaza II.

The Ahmednagar issues of Burhan III do not bear his name; instead, they are struck in the name of *Murtaza*. Only from the dates on these coins can we attribute them to Burhan III. The coins are issued in denominations of 1, 2/3rd, 1/2, 1/3rd, 1/4th and 1/8th *Falus*, the last two being previously unknown. Several dates which were not known earlier are reported here for Burhan III:

Denomination	New dates
1/2 *Falus*	1029
2/3rd *Falus*	1023,1025,1029,1037
1 *Falus*	1023,1032,1035,1037,1040

9. A. H. Siddiqui, "Copper Coins of the Nizam Shahi rulers of Parenda mint", *JNSI*, 42, 1980, pp. 45-48.
10. See fn. 8 above.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

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Siddiqui had earlier published a coin of Puna Nagar mint[12]. It was regarded as a highly debated mint name, and since the photograph provided was not sufficiently clear, its confirmation was kept in abeyance. We have encountered few coins of Burhan III, which show a variation in the mint name. These coins have the colloquial Marathi equivalent *Ahmeda Nagar* written in Persian, where there is a distinct *Alif* seen between *Ahmed* and *Nagar*. It is quite probable that this *Alif*, together with the curve of *Dal* in *Ahmed* preceding it, gave an impression of *Na* that leads Siddiqui to read the mint-name as *Puna*. Thus, it is possible that the coin published by Siddiqui actually bears the mint name *Ahmeda Nagar*. This Marathi equivalent for Ahmednagar is frequently met with in historical Modi archives. It is usually written as अमटानगर. It has been also noted on some rupees of Jehangir.

The Daulatabad issues of Burhan III can be broadly classified into two varieties. Variety 1 bears on the obverse *Burhan Nizam Shah Ghazi zarb*. In this variety, two arrangements for the obverse legend are noted. The first has the word *Nizam* at the top, while the second arrangement has it in the second line. Variety 2 has the same obverse legend, butt it is arranged in a *Tughra*. Both the varieties have an identical reverse legend *Daulatabad Fi Shuhur Sanah* ... followed by the date. The *Tughra* variety was previously unrecorded, and a new date 1038 is being listed here for the denomination of 2/3rd *Falus* of variety 1. This is the sole denomination known for variety 1, while 1, 2/3rd and 1/2 *Falus* are listed for the *Tughra* variety, *i.e.*, variety 2.

The third type of Burhan III includes coins without a mint-name. The coins in this type can be classified into three varieties, depending on the obverse legend. Variety 1 has *Burhan Nizam Shahee zarb*; variety 2 bears *Burhan Nizam Shah zarb*; and the third variety shows *Burhan Shah Ghazi zarb*. All the three varieties have the same reverse, with the legend *Fi Shuhur Sanah* ... followed by the date. These coins bear late dates such as 1037 and 1041. Denominations known for these coins are 1 and 2/3rd *Falus* for varieties 1 and 2, and 2/3rd *Falus* for variety 3.

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12. A. H. Siddiqui, "A Copper coin of Murtaza Nizam Shah II of Punanagar mint", *JNSI*, 36, 1974, pp. 140-141.

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Catalogue

Murtaza Nizam Shah I

Type 1

Mint: Ahmednagar (Nagar)

Obv: مرتضی ضرب نگر
Murtaza zarb Nagar

Rev: فی شهور سنه
Fi Shuhur sanah...

Legend arrangement:

Variety 1

Variety 2

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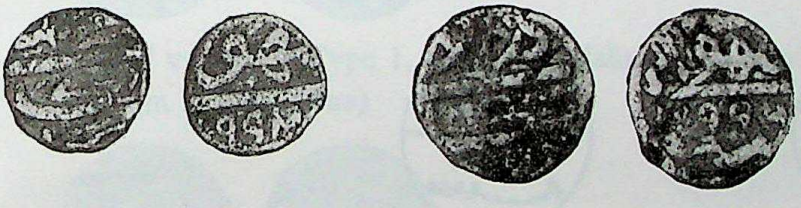
Variety 1 coins

1) 1/8th *Falus*; 2.7 gm. No date.

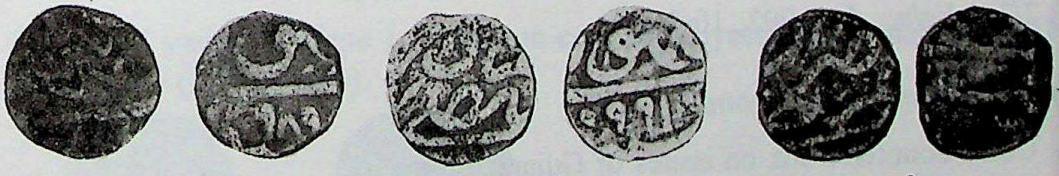
2) 1/4th *Falus*. a). date 991; 4.75 gm. b). date 992; 3.8 gm. c). date 993; 5.2 gm.

3) 2/3rd *Falus*. a). date 992; 10.15 gm. b). date 996; 10.7 gm.



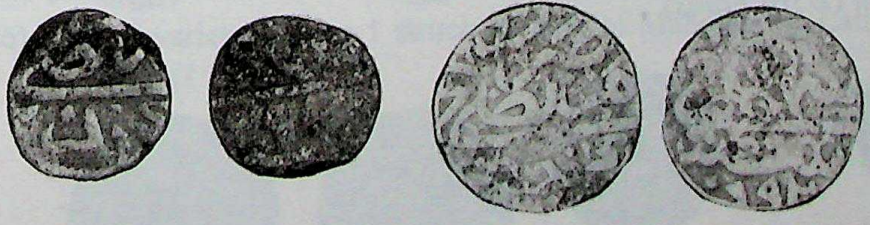
Variety, 2 coins

1) 2/3rd *Falus*. a). date 989; 10.15 gm. b). date 991; 10.25 gm. c). 993; 10.45 gm.



a b c

2) 1 *Falus*. a). date 991; 15.45 gm. b). date 993; 15.80 gm.



a b

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Type 2

Mintless

Legends:

Obv: فلوس ضرب مرتضی ماں
Falus zarb Murtaza[bad] ?

Rev: ... فی شهور سنه ...
Fi Shuhur Sanah .....

Legend arrangement:

Coins
1) 2/3rd *Falus*; date 992; 10.5 gm.

Type 3 (Counterstruck coins)

A. Coins counterstruck on issues of Gujarat Sultanate

1) Legend variety 1, Type 1, struck on coin of Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah II, date 932; 10.6 gm (2/3rd *Falus*).

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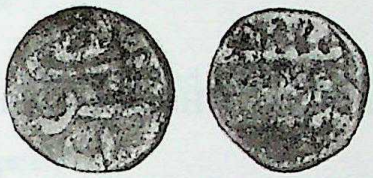
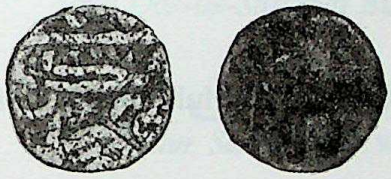
2) Legend variety 1, Type 1, struck on coin of Muzaffar Shah bin Mahmud Shah
10.7 gm (2/3rd *Falus*)



3) Legend variety 1, Type 1, struck on coin of Qutb-ud-din Bahadur Shah
10.7 gm (2/3rd *Falus*).



4) Legend variety 1, Type 1, struck on Mahmud bin Latif's coin.
10.5 gm (2/3rd *Falus*).

5) Legend variety 2, Type 1, struck on coin of Ghiyasuddin Ahmed Shah III
11.2 gm (2/3rd *Falus*).

6) Legend variety 1 Type 1 struck on coin of Mahmud bin Latif
16.9 gm (1 *Falus*).

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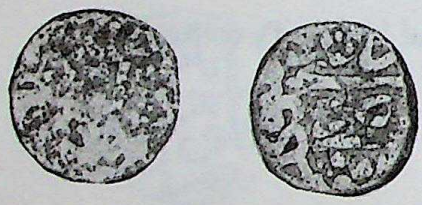
7) Legend variety 1, Type 1, struck on coin of Qutbuddin Bahadur Shah. 16.2 gm (1 *Falus*).

B. Coins counterstruck on Bahamani issues

1) Reverse legend of Type 1 struck on both sides of coin of Humayun Shah. 10.0 gm (2/3rd *Falus*).

2) Legend variety 1 Type 1 struck on coin of Mahmud bin Muhammed Shah 9.5 gm (2/3rd *Falus*)



Mules:

1) 2/3rd *Falus*, date 992, written erroneously as ۹۲۹ ; 10.45 gm.

2) Obverse of Types 1 and 2, 2/3rd *Falus*; 11.2 gm.

Obv: مرتضی مرتب نگر

Rev: فلوس مرتب مرتضی ماں

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Burhan Nizam Shah II

Type 1

Mint: Burhanabad, *Dar-us-saltanat*

Legends

Obv: ضرب دارالسلطنت برهان اباد
zarb Dar-us-Saltanat Burhanabad

Rev: فی شهور سنه احدی و الف
Fi Shuhur Sanah Inda wa alf

Legends arrangements:

Variety 1

Variety 2: Same as above, but crude calligraphy.

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Coins

Variety 1

1. 1/8th *Falus*; 2.26 gm.

2. 1/4th *Falus*; 4.6 gm.
3. 1/2 *Falus*; 7.3 gm.
4. 2/3rd *Falus*; 9.5 gm.

5. 1 *Falus*; 14.4 gm.
6. 1 *Falus*, legend arrangement 2; 14.35 gm.

Variety 2

1. 1/2 *Falus*; DR no. 11.
2. 2/3rd *Falus*; 9.5 gm.; DR no. 14
3. 1 *Falus*; 14.3 gm.; DR no. 16.

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Type 2

Mint: Burhanabad

Legends

Obv and *Rev:* ضرب برهان اباد

zarb Burhanabad

Legend arrangement:

Coins

1. 2/3rd *Falus*; 10.5 gm. No date.

2. 1 *Falus*; 16.18 gm. No date.

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Type 3

Mint: Murtazabad

Legends

Obv: برہان شاہ غازی
Burhan Shah Ghazi

Rev: ضرب مرتضی اباد
zarb Murtazabad

Legend Arrangement

Coins

1). 1/8th Falus ?; 2.0 gm. No date.

2). Same as above.

Murtaza Nizam Shah II

Type I

Mint: Ahmednagar

Legends

Obv: مرتضی ضرب احمد نگر
Murtaza zarb Ahmed Nagar

Rev: فی شہور سنہ....
Fi Shuhur Sanah.....

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Legend Arrangement

Variety 1

Variety 2

Coins

Variety 1

1. 1/4th *Falus*; 4.45 gm. No date.
2. 1/2th *Falus*; 7.39 gm. No date.
3. 2/3rd *Falus*. a). date 1011; 9.1 gm. b). date 1017; 9.5 gm.
4. *Falus*. a). date 1011; 14.45 gm. b). date 1017; 14.05 gm.

Variety 2

1. 1/2 *Falus*; 7.0 gm; date 1011; DR
2. 2/3rd *Falus*; 10.0 gm; date 1017; DR
3. *Falus*; 14.6 gm; date 1011; DR

Type 2

Mint: Parenda, *Dar-ul-mulk*

Legend

Obv: مرتضیٰ نظام شاہ غازی

Murtaza Nizam Shah Ghazi

Rev: ضرب دارالملک پریندہ سنہ

zarb Dar-ul-mulk Parenda Sanah

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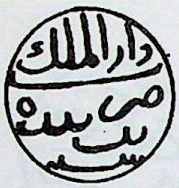
Legend Arrangement



No clearly dated specimen encountered.

Coins

1. 1/4th *Falus*; 3.9 gm.

2. 1/2 *Falus*; 7.5 gm.

3. 2/3rd *Falus*; 9.85 gm.

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4. 1 *Falus*; 15.45 gm.

Burhan Nizam Shah III

Type I

Mint: Ahmednagar

Legend

Obv: مرتضی ضرب احمدنگر
Murtaza zarb Ahmednagar
Rev: ..... فی شهور سنه
Fi Shuhur Sanah...

Legend Arrangement

Coins

1. 1/8 *Falus*; 2.3 gm. No date.

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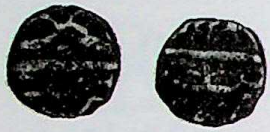
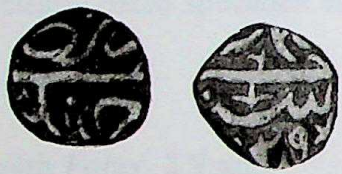
2. 1/4 *Falus*; 4.9 gm. No date.

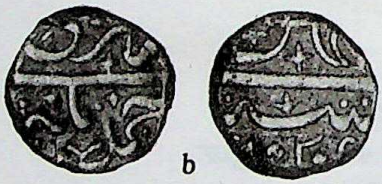


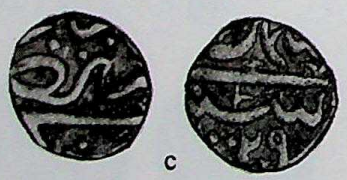
3. 1/2 *Falus*; 7 gm. Date 1029.



4. 2/3 *Falus*. Dates: a). 1023; b). 1025; c). 1029; d). 1037. *c.* 9.5 gm.

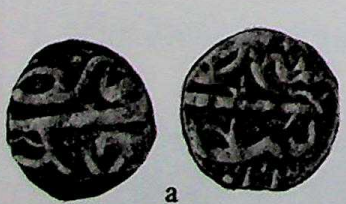
a

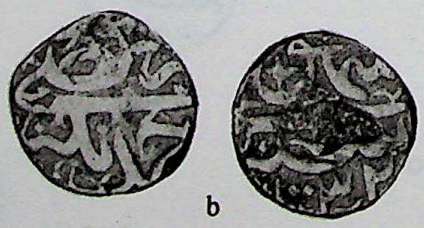

b


c

d

5. 1 *Falus*. Dates: a). 1023; b). 1032; c). 1035; d). 1040; e). 1037. *c.* 14.25 gm.


a


b

c

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d e

Mint name spelt as *Ahmeda Nagar* : احمد انگر

1. 2/3 *Falus*; 9.3 gm. No date.

Type 2

Mint: Daulatabad

Variety 1

Legend

Obv: برهان نظام شاه غازی ضرب

Burhan Nizam Shah Ghazi zarb

Rev: فی شهور سنه دولتابار

Fi Shuhur Sanah Daulatabad

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Legend Arrangement:

1.

2.

Coins

1. No dated specimens observed.

1. 2/3 *Falus*. a). 9.65 gm; b). 9.65 gm; c). 9.5 gm; d). 9.1 gm.

2. 2/3 *Falus*; 9.5 gm. Date 1038.

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Variety 2

Legends same as above but arranged in *Tughra*.

Legend Arrangement

Coins

1. 1/2 *Falus*; 7.0 gm. No date.

2. 2/3 *Falus*; 9.5 gm. No date

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Type 3

Mintless

Legends

Variety 1

Obv: برهان نظام شاهی ضرب
Burhan Nizam Shahee zarb

Rev: فی شهور سنه .....
Fi Shuhur Sanah

Variety 2

Obv: برهان نظام شاه ضرب
Burhan Nizam Shah zarb

Rev: فی شهور سنه ...
Fi Shuhur Sanah

Variety 3

Obv: برهان شاه غازی ضرب
Burhan Shah Ghazi zarb

Rev : فی شهور سنه ..
Fi Shahur Sanah

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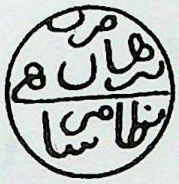
Legend Arrangements

Variety 1



Variety : 2

Variety : 3

Coins

Variety 1

1. 2/3 *Falus*; 9.75 gm. No date.

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2. *Falus*; 14.6 gm. Date 1037

Variety 2

1. 2/3 *Falus*. a). date 1037; 9.75 gm. b). date 1041; 9.45 gm.

2. 1 *Falus*; 13.6 gm. Date 1037.

Variety 3

1 2/3 *Falus*; 9.45 gm. Date 1037.

2. 1/4th *Falus*. No date.

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29

A NEW COIN OF AHILYABAI HOLKAR

Sajid Naim and Dilip P. Balsekar

Here, we bring to notice one coin issued in the name of Shah Alam II and with a rather significant date:

1. Silver; diam. 1.89 x 1.94 cm; wt. 11.15 gm.

شاہ عالم
بادشاہ غازی
سکہ مبارک

Shah A[lam] 1194
[Bad]sha[h] [Ghazi]
[Sikka Mubarak]

مانوس
میمنت
سنہ ۱۳ جلوس ض
وافگاؤن

Manus
Maimanat
Sanah 13 Julus
[Zarb]
[Waphgaon}

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

This coin is from a hoard of 200 coins found at Karmala in Sholapur district of Maharashtra[1]. The date on the obverse is in the Hijri era 1194, (AD 1779) while on the reverse there is the regnal year 13. These two dates make the coin interesting because they apparently do not reconcile with each other. The question of the date will be discussed a little later in this paper but, to take up the name of the mint on the reverse first, it is off the flan. However, on the basis of the two marks seen on the reverse, it is possible to identify the mint. One of these marks is a trident (Ψ) placed between جلوس (*Julu*) and سنه (*seen*) of Julus, and the other is a flower of which only the petals are seen in the form of dots (⁘), the stalk having gone off the flan. Appearance of these two marks together in the forms seen on the coin under discussion is typical to the coins from Waphgaon mint[2].

Waphgaon, also called Wabgaon or Waubgaon, is situated some 20 kms. North of Pune (Maharashtra). It was a native place of the family of the Holkars and also one of the temporary mints[3] established by the Holkars. These temporary mints were apart from the two permanent mints at Indore (Malharnagar) and, Maheshwar[4].

In fact, Waphgaon was set up as a mint by Tukojirao, the commander-in-chief of Ahilyabai, in December 1774 when he needed to strike coins for the use of his army[5].

Although the name of the mint is completely off the flan on the present coin, we may at this juncture try and reconstruct the mint name from three coins of this hoard which are very much similar.

1. The hoard consisted of 8 Venetian gold ducates, 80 coins of Aurangzeb and 112 of the Marathas. The Maratha coins include 84 specimens from the Waphgaon mint. Some of the coins are in the collection of Dept. of Archaeology Maharashtra. The hoard was acquired under treasure trove act. The photographs are in the Photo Archives of Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nashik.
2. K. K. Maheshwari and K. W. Wiggins, *Maratha Mints and Coinage*, Nashik, 1989, pp. 98-99
3. These temporary mint were established at places like Panipat, Poona, Bagalkot, Harda, and Wabgaon or Waubgaon; P. K. Sethi, *et. al.*, *A Study of Holkar State Coinage*, p. lxxx.
4. The permanent mints at Indore and Mysore were in operation during the reign of Ahilyabai (AD 1767-95).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

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2. Silver; size 2 x 2.05 cm; wt. 11.32 gm.

(Shah Alam)
(Bad)shah Gha(zi)
Sikka Mubarak

(Manus)
(Maimanat)
(Sa)nah Julus
(Zarb)
Waphga(on)

The year 13 is partly seen on the reverse and *Waphga* is quite clear. The latter part of the mint name is cut, but the two coins illustrated below have it:

3. Silver; size 2 x 2 cm; wt. 11.19 gm.

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شاہ عالم بے
بادشاہ غازی
سکہ مبارک

Shah A(lam)
(Bad)shah (Ghazi)
(Sikka Mubarak)

مانوس
میمنت
سنہ جلوس ض
واپھگاون

(Manus)
(Maimanat)
(Sanah) Julus
(Zarb)
(Wa)phgaon

4. Silver; size 1.94 x 2 cm; wt. 11.18 gm.

شاہ عالم بے
بادشاہ غازی
سکہ مبارک

Shah A[lam]
(Ba)dshah (Ghazi)
(Sikka Mubarak)

مانوس
میمنت
سنہ جلوس ض
واپھگاون

(Manus)
(Maimanat)
(Sanah) Julus
Zarb (Waphg)aon

On basis of these coins, we may definitely say that our coin no 1 is from Waphgaon mint.

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Coming now to the question of the date on the coin, it may be stated that the coins issued from Waphgaon mint are known to have only the regnal year 12. This date is believed to be the regnal year of Shah Alam II because the coins are issued in his name[6]. However, our coin no. 1 is having both the Hijri year 1194 and the regnal year 13. RY 13 cannot be the regnal year of Shah Alam II because AH 1194 would make his regnal year 20/21. The question then arises as to whose regnal year it is.

An obvious explanation could be that the die-cutter has committed an error in cutting the date on the die. Looking beyond the obvious, however, is an alternative and more convincing explanation for the appearance of AH/RY combination on the present coin. As stated earlier, a mint was established at Waphgaon by Tukojirao Holkar, the commander- in-chief of Ahilyabai[7]. The latter had ascended the throne of Indore after the death of her son Male Rao in March 1767. However, her accession to the throne was disputed by Raghunath Rao, the brother of the late Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao. Ahilyabai was able to defend Indore with the help of Tukojirao Holkar. The dispute was then referred to Madhav Rao, the Peshwa, who settled it in favour of Ahilyabai. This event took place sometime after June 1767[8], corresponding to the beginning of the Hijri year 1181. Now the enigma of the date on the coin can be solved if the *sanah* (RY) 13 is identified as the regnal year of Ahilyabai[9], which synchronizes with the Hijri year 1194.

It is, thus, clear that the coins from Waphgaon mint were issued on the Mughal pattern. While the obverse bears the name of Mughal ruler Shah Alam II alongwith the current Hijri year, the regnal year on the reverse is of Ahilyabai, the ruler of the region, and not of Shah Alam II.

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6. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
7. She was the widow of Khande Rao, who was killed at Kumbher in AD 1754 during the lifetime of his father, Malhar Rao Holkar. *Madhya Pradesh District Gazetteer, Indore*, 1971, p. 63.
8. She ascended the throne on 27th March 1776, and then had to contend with the invasion of Raghunath Rao. This matter was referred to Madhav Rao, the Peshwa, who decided it in her favour. The whole process would have taken more than two months. The Hijri year 1181 began on 1 June 1767.
9. The RY cannot be of Tukojirao Holkar, who founded the mint at Waphgaon, as he was only the commander and not the sovereign.

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30

THE ACQUISITION OF INDIAN MINTS BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

K. W. Wiggins

In the preface to the *Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations*, Part 4, *India*, Volume I, *East India Company Presidency Series*, the author, the late Major Fred Pridmore, wrote "the present work only deals with the coins issued from mints established or acquired and directly operated by the Presidency governments of the East India Company ... No attempt has been made to deal with the issues from the numerous native mints which passed under the Company's control during the period 1790-1835. Papers dealing with certain native mints have been published, *e.g.* Ahmedabad, Broach, Nagpur, *etc.*, but many others continued to strike coins, either tacitly or by agreements and rules, supervised or enforced by the Company's officers responsible for the district in which they were situated. The majority of these native mints were closed down by the Company before the introduction of the uniform currency system in 1835."

Pridmore gave no reason for not including these mints in Part 4, Volume I. Probably the task of researching and compiling what is on record regarding the native mints would have been too time consuming even if the records are available in England. The present paper gives only a brief account of the various native mints which fell into the hands of the East India Company and it will have to be left to some other interested person with the time and resources to investigate more thoroughly this interesting aspect of the Company's coinage.

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Almost from the time of the first trading settlements that were established by the Company in India, the question of currency became a matter of importance. In South India or more accurately on the Coromandel Coast, where the Company first established some trading posts, there does not seem to have been any regular mints that they acquired. In 1611 a post was established at Masulipatan (Machhlipatan) but later abandoned for one at Armagon, where the local Naik struck gold *pagodas* and *fanams* at the request of the Company and with gold supplied by them. More favourable trading was to be had at Masulipatan and the Company re-established itself there, receiving in 1684 permission to mint their own silver coin. Whether they did so cannot be confirmed from the available records but rather superior rupees from this mint in the name of Aurangzeb Alamgir together with copper coins supports the proposition that the Company minted their own coinage there. Masulipatan later fell to the French but was recovered by the British in 1759, who continued their coinage of silver and copper.

In 1640 the control of Madraspatan (Madras) was given to the Company and a mint was established at Chennappapatan (Chinapatan) which struck rupees and possibly copper coins, as well as *pagodas*. Mention may also be made of certain other mints which were set up by the Company on the Coromandel Coast, although few cannot be classed as permanent. Fort St. David had a mint at nearby Cuddalore at about 1690 which produced *pagodas* and *fanams*. Madapollam was active for a few years as was Vizagapatam; needless to say the coins of these mints are very rare. Nagapatam was taken from the Dutch in 1781 and thereafter the Iskat or Scott *pagoda* was produced, so called from the name of the official of the Company at this port. Pondicherry, the French settlement on Coromandel Coast which they founded in 1674, was taken by the British during wars with France in 1761 and occupied until 1763. It was again occupied from 1778 until 1783 and then 1793 until 1816. Rupees of the Arcot type, originally introduced by the French, were struck at Pondicherry during these periods of British occupation but there appears to be no record of East India Company officials controlling the mint.

In the Bombay Presidency the Company took over the administration of Broach and Surat in 1799 and gained control of the mints there. With the acquisition of considerable territory after the war against the Peshwa in 1817-1819 the Bombay Government retained former Maratha mints at Poona, Bagalkot and Shahpur.

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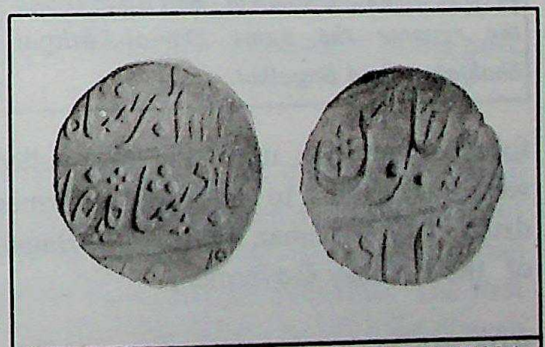
By far the largest number of mints were acquired by the Company in Bengal, commencing in 1765 with the grant of the Diwani of Bengal. As the Company gained control of more territory so they were able to gain the use of mints formerly operated by the Mughals, their governors or by independent chiefs. It is probable that some of the mints kept running, regardless of the change of authority in the district; turning out coinage in exchange for bullion supplied, until the Company's government became firmly established. When it was, the Company's coinage was gradually introduced.

Ahmedabad

The city of Ahmedabad was founded in AD 1411 by Ahmad Shah I, sovereign of the independent state of Gujarat. It became the capital. Gujarat was annexed by Akbar in AH 980 and from then on Ahmedabad was an important mint town of the Mughals; the majority of the emperors having coins struck there.

Mughal rule prevailed in Ahmedabad until the end of the reign of Ahmad Shah Bahadur. The city was then taken by the Marathas who, in 1755, were ejected from there by a Mughal army under Momin Khan, who restored the rule of the emperor, at least nominally. In 1757 Momin Khan surrendered Ahmedabad to the Marathas, an event which ended all Mughal connection with the place. Between 1757 and 1817 the city was either in the hands of the Marathas or held on lease by the Gaikwads of Baroda. In 1817 there was an agreement between the Gaikwad and the British to hand over Ahmedabad to the latter. This was duly augmented and the East India Company took over the city including the mint.



Rupee of the Ahmedabad mint dated AH124x and in the name of Muhammad Akbar II. The date and regnal year are usually off the flan the coin.

The coins of the Marathas struck at Ahmedabad are, as well as the dates, recognisable by the mark of the *ankus* that is present on the reverse. The coins issued by the Gaikwads bear a similar device accompanied by the words *Ga, Ram, Ga Sa* in Devanagari. Much the

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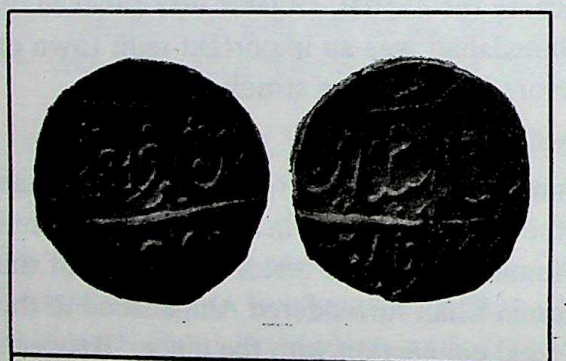
same type of coin was continued by the British when they took the mint over in 1818. The prominent mark however was changed to a flower. Rupees with its half, quarter and eighth were struck from AH 1233 to 1251 in the name of Muhammad Akbar II. Copper pice were also struck for a few years. The Company official with responsibility for the mint was the Collector of Ahmedabad, a Mr. Dunlop. The production of coin ceased there in 1835-36 when the uniform coinage for all India was introduced by the Company.

Bagalkot

The town was formerly in possession of the Vijayanagar kings, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, the Nizam-ul-Mulk and the Nawabs of Savanur. It was taken from the latter by the Marathas in about 1755.



Rupee of Bagalkot dated 1819 by the British and believed struck until about 1833. The obverse bears the name of Shah Alam II and the reverse the name Dar-ul-Khilafat Shahjahanabad Bagalkot.

The Bagalkot mint is said to have been established in about 1757-58. According to accounts it was closed, together with other mints in the area, about 1765 but is thought to have subsequently been revived and was in operation at the beginning of the 19th century.

In 1818, at the conclusion of the Third Maratha War, the territory came under the jurisdiction of the East India Company who kept the mint at Bagalkot in operation, presumably to supply a need for local currency, under the local collector, a Mr. Nisbit. The rupees produced were very similar to those of the former Maratha administration but are clearly dated 1819 in Roman figures. The Bagalkot mint closed in 1833 on the direction of the Bombay Goverment.

Belgaum-Shahpur

Belgaum came into the possession of the Mughals in 1688 when the Sultanate of Bijapur fell to them. The city remained with them until about 1725 and then came into the possession of the Nizam-ul-Mulk and then the Nawabs of Savanur. Belgaum and the adjoining suburb of Shahpur were taken by the Marathas about

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1755-56. The district was known in Mughal times as Azamnagar and this was the mint name applied to the earlier coins including those of the emperor Muhammad Shah. The Marathas copied the rupee of Muhammad Shah and with each successive issue the style became cruder and more corrupt until the coins could hardly be related to the original type. They were apparently without any form of date until 1818, when the district was annexed by the British following the defeat of the Peshwa Baji Rao at the conclusion of the last Maratha War. The mint at Belgaum-Shahpur was retained by the British when their government was established and rupees and half rupees bearing the date of 1821 in Roman figures were struck, although they bear little resemblence to the original type. The mint was closed in 1833.

Rupee of the Shahpur mint in the name of Muhammad Shah. The mint name is Azamnagar Shahpur and the date 1821, although they were probably struck until 1833.

Broach

The port of Broach on the river Narmada is a town of great antiquity and was an important centre of trade and commerce for a considerable time until superceded in importance by Surat. Broach was never a mint of the Mughal emperors. In the early 18th century it was part of the private estate of the Governor of Gujarat. In 1736 it was held from him by Mirza Abdullah Beg, the Commandant of the port, who was elevated to the rank of Nawab.

A mint is said to have been established at Broach during the time of the second Nawab Nek Alam Khan II by permission of the emperor Ahmad Shah Bahadur (1748-1754). Whether coins were issued at Broach in the names of Ahmad Shah or Alamgir II is questionable for none appear to have been published. The first issue appears to be in the name of Shah Alam II (1759-1806). In 1772 the Nawab of Broach was deposed by the East India Company whose army took the city, the belief being that the Nawab was in alliance with the Gaikwads who had designs on the Company's territory.

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The Company took over the mint at Broach and continued striking rupees et infra and copper coins. The coins formerly struck by Nawabs had a flower as the predominant mark but the Company changed this to the cross of St. Thomas. Although the mark is often present on the coins, very few will be found to bear regnal years, which are invariably off the flan.

In 1782, by virtue of the Treaty of Salbye, the Company made over the port of Broach to Sindhia of Gwalior. It seems that coins of the same type as those previously struck were continued. In 1803, after the Treaty of Bassain, Broach once again became a possession of the East India Company. It has been impossible to establish with certainty whether coins were struck during this second occupation by the Company.

Rupee of the Broach mint. Very few of these coins show the full regnal year or other details.

Nasik (Gulshanabad)

The city was never a Mughal mint, probably because it was considered to be of insufficient importance to warrant one. Nasik became a stronghold of the Marathas in the mid 18th century. Their first rupees were struck in the name of Alamgir II, and these were followed by coins with the name of Shah Alam II. The old Mughal name of Gulshanabad was retained on the coins, although the name Nasik seems to have been used in all other matters once the Marathas had charge of the district. Coins were struck with the Shah Alam legend until 1818 (AH 1233) when the city fell into the hands of the British at the conclusion of the Third Maratha War. The mint continued production of the same type of rupee and its fractions until AH 1249 (AD 1833) when, in common with some other mints in the Bombay Presidency it was closed down.

Rupee of the Nasik mint dated AH 1234 (AD 1818-19)

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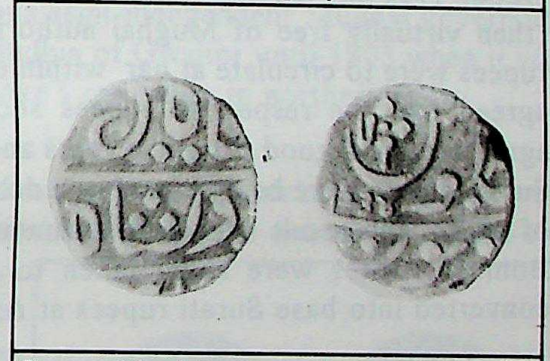
Poona

Rupees are said to have first been struck at Poona during the Mughal occupation at the end of the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th centuries. They bear the name of the emperor Aurangzeb and the mint name of Muhiabad *urf* Pune. The Marathas had a firm hold in Poona by the middle of the 18th century and coins were struck there in the name of Muhammad Shah, the Mughal emperor. Regular and systematic minting of coins by the Maratha government started about 1760 at Poona and several different types were issued there, namely the *Hali sikka*, the *Ankusi* and the *Pharasi sikka*. These coins were struck until 1818 when, during the Third Maratha War, Poona was taken by the British following the battle of Kirkee. On the annexation of the Peshwa's territory the East India Company took over the mint at Poona and continued to issue the *Hali sikka* and *Ankusi* in much the same form, but they were properly dated in the Fasli era on the reverse. The dates range from Fasli 1230 to 1244 (AD 1820 to 1834).

Rupee of the Hali Sikka type struck at Poona by the East India Company in Fasli 1243.



Rupee of the Ankusi type also struck at Poona dated Fasli 1234.

Surat

Surat was absorbed into the Mughal empire in AH 980 and thereafter was the site of one of the most prolific and best known of the Mughal mints. Coins of all the legitimate emperors are known. Surat was the principal Mughal port on the west coast of India and an important centre for trade with the various European powers who established trading posts there.

The mint at Surat was under the control of the local Mughal governor and during the 17th century bullion provided by the East India Company was conveyed to

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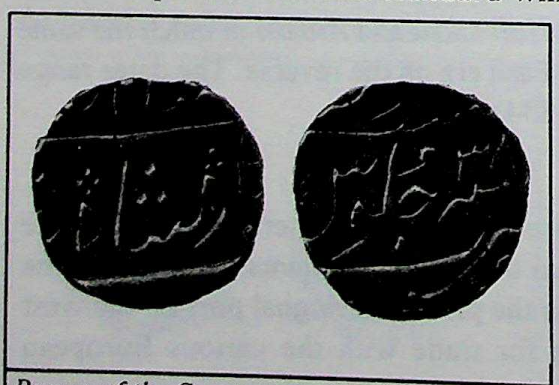
Surat where it was converted into coin for the convenience of the Company's trade. In 1672 the Company founded a mint at Bombay. The coinage produced there was of a European character and was issued for use solely on Bombay island, it being unacceptable for transactions in trade with other localities.

In 1717 authority was granted to the Company enabling them to strike coins in the Mughal pattern at their Bombay mint. Thus we find coins in the name of Farrukhsiyar, Shah Jahan II, Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II with the mint name *Munbai* emanating from the Bombay mint. The copper coins retained their European character.

About 1760 the Company came to an agreement with the Nawab of Surat (then virtually free of Mughal authority) whereby the Bombay and Surat rupees were to circulate at par within each other's territory and both parties agreed that the respective rupees should be of the same standard. This agreement held good for a few years and then it was found that the Nawab's Surati rupees were being issued in a debased metal and contained up to 15% of alloy. The result of this debasement was that a fair proportion of the Bombay rupees were being taken to Surat where they were melted and converted into base Surati rupees at a good profit to the mint.

The final consequence of this was that the Bombay mint could not continue to issue rupees of the fine standard whilst the Surati rupees were continually being debased. As a result the Bombay mint virtually closed for the production of silver coin between about 1790 and 1800.



Rupee of the Surat mint, dated regnal year 38 (AD 1795-96). This type of rupee was alleged to have been debased.

On the 13th May, 1800, a treaty was concluded with Nawab whereby the civil government of Surat and district was vested in the East India Company. As a result of this an officer of the Company, a Mr. Church, was appointed Mint Master at Surat. He

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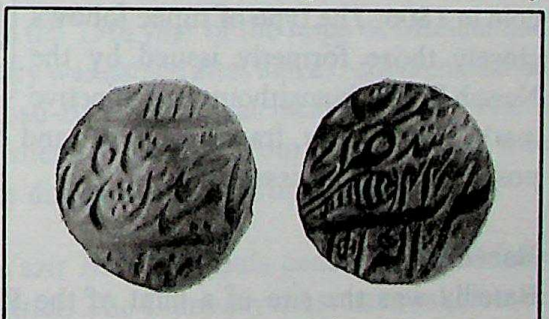
immediately reformed the coinage to comply with the Company's standard. The coins are recognisable by their marks from the former coinage of the Nawab.

The Surat mint continued to operate until 1815. It was then closed down and the Presidency coinage was struck solely by the Bombay mint.

Agra (Akbarabad)

Agra was the site of Mughal mint from the time of Babur (1526-1530) and coins were issued copiously during the reigns of successive emperors. From about 1762 until 1774 the city was under the control of the Jats of Bharatpur and from 1774 to 1785 under various semi-independent Mughal governors. It then came under the control of Sindhia of Gwalior until 1803 when it was taken by the British during Lord Lake's campaign in northern India.

The distinctive rupees with the representation of a fish on the reverse were struck during the reign of Shah Alam II and with the occupation of the city by the British in 1803 they were continued for a few years. Coins dated after AH 1218 are issues of the Company, if indeed they took control of the mint, which is a point which cannot at the present be confirmed. The last issue appears to be dated AH 1220 (AD 1805-06) and is distinguishable by the *sahib qiran* legend instead of the former *badshah ghazi* title. There are no marks other then a small ✠ on the obverse to indicate that it is a Company issue.



Rupee of the Akbarabad mint dated AH 1219 regnal year 44.
The date has been recut on the die from 1217 to 1219, and from 41 to 46.

Allahabad

This city was under the control of the Mughals from the time of Akbar and coins were struck there by successive emperors, although not apparently on

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any great scale. In the 18th century Allahabad was under the Mughal rule of Shah Alam II until 1773 when, by the Treaty of Banaras, it was transferred to the Nawab Wazir of Awadh. In 1775 by the Treaty of Faizabad the ruler of Awadh surrendered to the East India Company the districts of Banaras and Faizabad. In 1801 (AH 1216) the Nawab Wazir made over Allahabad and a number of other places in the Lower Doab to the Company in order to provide the cost of the Company's troops stationed in Awadh for the protection of that country.

The rupees of Allahabad struck by the Nawab Wazirs of Awadh range from AH 1185 to AH 1207 and bear the mark of either a fish or a flag. Any coin dated after AH 1216 (AD 1801) was therefore issued under the rule of the Company. It is not certain for how long this mint functioned under the Company but there are references to it still issuing coin in 1806. The type of rupee follows closely those formerly issued by the Nawab Wazirs but without the distinctive marks. Gold coins, fractional silver and copper coins have not been noticed and possibly were not issued.

Rupee of the Allahabad mint, dated AH 1207, regnal year 26 struck by the Nawab Wazir of Awadh.

Bareilly

Bareilly was the site of a mint of the Rohillas, who in the middle of the 18th century took possession of a large but ill-defined tract of land north-east of Delhi and below the foothills of the Himalayas. Their territory included also the towns of Muradabad, Najibabad and Bisauli.

Rupees were struck at Bareilly by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and his successors. By 1754 the Rohillas were virtually independent of Delhi and their coin issues were principally a local currency, which appear to have commenced in AH 1173-1174 in the name of the Durrani Ahmad Shah, whilst rupees in the name of Shah Alam II were produced at the same time. After 1774 Rohilkhand

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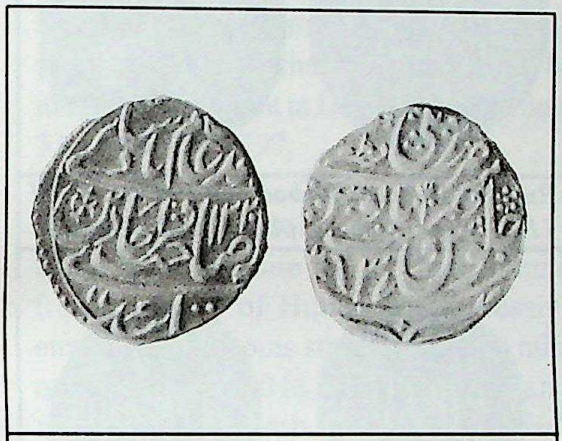
was made over to Awadh and rupees were struck in the thirtieth and thirty-fifth years of Shah Alam II with the mint name of Asafabad, as Bareilly was renamed.



Rupee of the Bareilly mint dated AH 1219, regnal year 37 with the Persian ۓ in the loop of س

Bareilly was ceded to the East India Company in November, 1801 (AH 1216). No alteration was made to the standard of the existing rupee, but the mint name is preceded by the word *Qit'a*, meaning district, and the regnal year 37 is constant on the reverse irrespective of the Hijri date. The Persian letter ہ (*He*) the first letter of the Subah Hussain Ali Khan was discontinued and the letter ۓ (*Wau*) substituted as a compliment to the Lieutenant Governor Henry Wellesley. The mint at Bareilly is said to have ceased operations in 1806.

Banaras-Muhammadabad

The Banaras mint was first established in the 15th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah or AH 1145 (AD 1733-34) and the city was named after him as Muhammadabad but bore the dual name of Muhammadabad-Banaras. It was included in the realm of the Nawab Wazirs of Awadh. The issues of this mint from AH 1145 onwards are remarkable for the variety of marks displayed on the rupees.

In May, 1775 (AH 1189) the Nawab Wazir Asaf-ud-Daula ceded to the British the proprietory rights in the Banaras district. The Company must have taken over the mint but in April, 1776, they transferred it to Raja Chait Singh of Banaras who engaged to coin rupees of a prescribed weight and to continue the die of the 17th year in order to put an end to the confusion in the currency occasioned by the constant alteration of the value of the coin. The first rupees of the East India Company are dated AH 1190, year 17.

Chait Singh continued to control the mint until 1781 (AH 1196) when the Company assumed direct control of it continuing to issue the same type of rupee, which first bore the AH date and the regnal year 17. From AH 1193 they bore the

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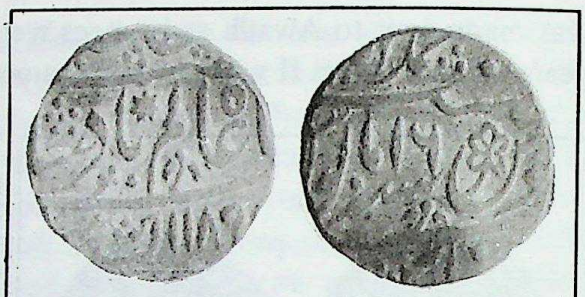
regnal year 17 and also the regnal year which corresponded correctly with the Hijri date. This type of rupee was struck until 1813 (AH 1229). In 1815 a new mint was set up at Banaras where machine struck milled coins were produced similar in style to the last hammered rupees. This type of rupee was struck only upto 1819 and the production went over to the Farrukhabad san 45 rupee and its fractions. These were produced until 1830 when the mint at Banaras was closed.



Rupee of Muhammadabad Banaras, dated AH 1189, regnal year 16 (AD 1774-1775).

Similar rupee from the same mint but dated AH 1190, regnal year 17 and the first issue of the East India Company from this mint.

The Nawab Wazirs of Awadh struck their own coins at Banaras until AH 1189 when their mint was transferred to Lucknow. Production of the same type of coin was continued until AH 1234, but from AH 1201 they have the fixed regnal year 26.

Dakka (Jahangirnagar)

Dhaka or Dacca or Dakka was renamed Jahangirnagar about AH 1021, the 7th year of the emperor Jahangir's reign. Rupees are known of succeeding Mughal emperors until Alamgir II.

After 1765 only one published rupee is known which bears the mint name of Jahangirnagar. It is dated AH 1183, regnal year 10 of Shah Alam II (1768-69), and must have been struck by the East India Company. No further coins are known which may be attributed to the Dakka mint, which closed in October, 1773.

It opened again in 1792-93 following the completion of a new mint and the installation of the appropriate machinery. Machine struck milled rupees were issued bearing the

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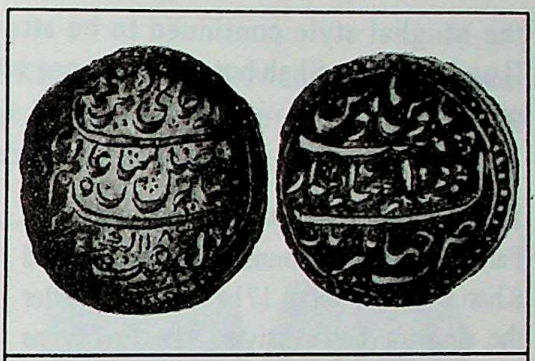
fixed regnal year 19. They bore the mint name of Murshidabad in common with the Company's coins struck at Calcutta, Murshidabad and Patna. All had identifying privy marks and the mint may thus be identified. The mint at Dakka operated until 31st January, 1797.

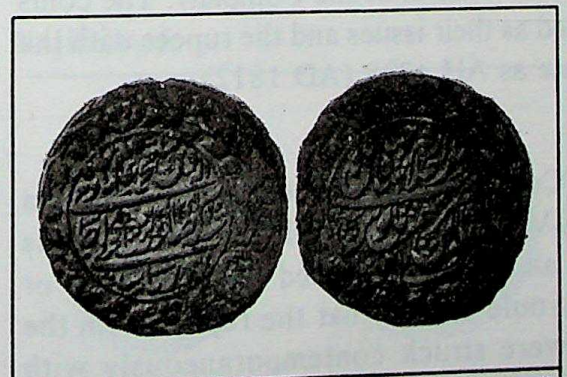


Rupee of Jahangirnagar dated AH 1183, year 10. A rare issue of the East India Company

Delhi (Shahjahanabad)

Delhi was the site of a Mughal mint from the time of Humayun. Successive emperors had coins struck with this mint name until AH 1048 when Shah Jahan had a city built near Delhi which he named Shahjahanabad with the epithet *Dar-ul-Khilafat*. Coins with this mint name were struck by his successors. The Mughal emperor Shah Alam II who was nominal ruler of what remained of the Mughal empire was in Delhi for the greater part of his reign, but he was a mere puppet.

In 1803 during the Second Maratha War Delhi was taken by Lord Lake and thenceforth the rule of the Mughals was confined to the palace and he had no official function. For a few years from 1803 we have Mughal style rupees with distinctive British characteristics struck at the Delhi mint; one showing the British lion and others with a border of roses, thistles and shamroack. They were obviously produced at the instigation of the British to commemorate their capture of Delhi. On the 7th August, 1813 orders were issued by the East India Company that the coinage to be struck at Delhi was in future to be the Company's Farrukhabad rupee. The mint at Delhi was equipped with machinery brought from Calcutta but it never came into production and was closed down in June, 1818. Coins in



Rupee of Shahjahanabad dated AH 1219 regnal year 47 (AD 1804-05).
The border indicates British influence.

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the Mughal style continued to be struck in the names of Muhammad Akbar II and Bahadur Shah but their purpose was primarily for prestige and presentation purposes.

Farrukhabad-Ahmadnagar

Farrukhabad was founded by Muhammad Khan Bangash about 1714 and named after the emperor Farrukhsiyar. The first coins from that town were issued in that emperor's name. During the reign of Muhammad Shah Farrukhabad was annexed by the Nawab Wazir of Awadh but recovered by Ahmad Khan Bangash, who also curbed the inroads of the Marathas into the district. He gave the name Ahmadnagar to Farrukhabad and the name occurs on later coins as Ahmadnagar-Farrukhabad. The town remained in possession of the Bangash Nawabs until 1802 (AH 1217) when it was annexed by the East India Company, from the Nawab Wazir of Awadh.

Rupee of Ahmadnagar-Farrukhabad dated AH 1217, regnal year 39.

From 1802 the mint was nominally under the control of the Company. The coins which post-date AH 1217 may be regarded as their issues and the rupees with the name of Shah Alam II were struck as late as AH 1228 (AD 1812).

According to Pridmore the East India Company authorised the erection of a mint at Farrukhabad by Regulation XLV of 1803. The minting of rupees is reported to have commenced in 1805 and was designated the Lucknow or Farrukhabad rupee of the 45th san. It would appear that the rupees with the mint name Ahmadnagar-Farrukhabad were struck contemporaneously with the 45th san rupees for about 7 years but at different mints, until the former were discontinued.

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Murshidabad

This city was named after Murshid Quili Khan who was Dewan of Bengal under the emperor Aurangzeb in 1701. He later became sole governor of the province and thereafter Bengal was virtually independent of Delhi.

On the 12th August, 1765, Shah Alam II granted to the East India Company the Diwani of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The three Mughal mints of Murshidabad, Patna and Dakka came under the control of the East India Company. Coins dated later than AH 1178-79, regnal year 7 of Shah Alam II are therefore issues of the Company.

Rupee of Murshidabad mint dated regnal year 8 (AD 1766-67) shortly after it was acquired by the East India Company.

As Pridmore pointed out, it is not certain whether, after 1765, the Company coins were struck at Murshedabad or Calcutta or whether they were struck at both places. It is probable that minting under the control of the Company was carried on at the Murshidabad mint for at least five years, when we find the rupees of that mint bear a star mark, which in AH 1183 was replaced by the mark of a crescent. The Murshidabad mint closed sometime in 1797.

Najibabad

Rupee of the Najibabad mint dated regnal year 38. The type was continued until AH 1219.

Najib Khan Rohilla (1753-1770) is reputed to be the founder of this town in the Bijnor district in what was formerly Rohilkhand. The mint was probably established at the same time and rupees are known bearing the name of Alamgir II with his regnal years two to six. Rupees were also struck in the name of Shah Alam II by the Rohilla chief until 1774, when the town was taken possession of by the Nawab Wazir of

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Awadh. The mint there continued to strike coins in a slightly different style and characterised by the mark of a fish on the reverse. The town of Najibabad passed into the hands of the British in 1801 (AH 1215-1216). The mint was active for a few more years, from AH 1216 to 1219, presumably under control of British officials, but ceased operations in 1805.

Patna (Azimabad)

This city was taken by Akbar in AH 982 and thenceforth coins were issued from the mint there with the mint name of Patna. In AH 1117 (AD 1705) it was renamed Azimabad by the emperor Aurangzeb. This designation was retained until the end of the series but some issues of Farrukhsiyar and Rafi-ud-Darjat bear the old name. Coins, principally rupees, are known of Alamgir II, Shahjahan III and Shah Alam II which are issues of the Nawabs of Bengal. The East India Company took control of the mint in 1765 (AH 1179) which continued to issue coins in the name of Shah Alam until 1773 (AH 1187). Rupees of regnal years 7, 8, 9 and 10 and of the Mughal type are known. The mint was closed in 1773 but was revived in 1793 when it produced the machine struck rupees and fractions of the Murshidabad type but which are distinguishable according to the private marks on the obverse.

Rupee of the Azimabad mint dated regnal year six of Shah Alam II (1764-65) about the time when the mint was taken over by the East India Co.

Saharanpur

The town of Saharanpur was the headquarters of a *sarkar* in the *suba* of Delhi during the time of Akbar. Copper *dams* were minted there of the 37th and 39th Ilahi and the mint was apparently active during the reign of Aurangzeb. It was revived at the end of the 18th century when it became the domain of the Rohilla Najib Khan, and

Rupee of the Saharanpur mint dated AH 1219, regnal year 46 of Shah Alam II.

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remained with the Rohillas until 1788 when it was taken by the Marathas. It was ruled by a number of governors appointed by Sindhia until 1803 when at the conclusion of the Second Maratha War the area was ceded to the British East India Company. There is no precise date when the British occupied Saharanpur but it was probably during the cold season of 1803-04 (AH 1218). The mint continued to operate for the next two years but whether or not under the Company's supervision is not known. Rupees and copper coins were struck and are dated AH 1218, 1219 and 1220. The mint appears to have been shut down in 1805.

Saugor

A mint was established at Saugor by the Marathas in 1779. A rupee known as the *Balashahi* was struck there and the mint name on the coins was Ravishnagar Saugor. The rupee were struck until 1818 and are to be found with posthumous regnal years of Shah Alam II to fifty five. The British East India Company annexed the Saugor and Narmada territory at the end of the third Maratha War in 1818. They inherited the mint at Saugor and continued the production of the *Balashahi* rupee. These particular coins were apparently prone to forgery and the authorities decided that a secret mark inserted in the die of the coin would be a foil against the forgers. The proposition was not, however, proceeded with and Mr. T. H. Maddock, who was in charge of the mint at Saugor, had the word Saugor in English and the date 1819 in Roman figures on the obverse and reverse of the rupee. These old Maratha type rupees were not produced for very long. In 1820 it was decided to construct a new mint building at Saugor. It was ready in 1824. By Regulation II of 1824 it was decreed that the Farrukhabad rupee of the 45 san of 180 grains, comprising 165 grains fine and 15 grains alloy, be coined at Saugor and be the legal currency of the Saugor and Narmada territory. In June, 1835 it was resolved that the

Rupee in the style of the old Saugor coin but with the name Saugor in English on the obverse and the date 1819 on the reverse.

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Saugor mint should be closed down as with the introduction of the uniform currency it was no longer considered necessary.

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31

TEA GARDEN TOKENS OF ASSAM

S. K. Bose

The most deplorable economic scenario of Assam, as was evident towards the end of the Ahom rule, was the outcome of an inefficient administration, the Moamaria revolts and the Burmese invasion and occupation of the country. According to Gait the people of Assam, "who had hitherto enjoyed a fair measure of happiness and prosperity, were plunged into the depths of misery and despair".

The wanton acts of destruction all around as well as the advent of the Burmese army towards the British India borders provoked the imperial troops to resort to arms, which ultimately resulted in the ejection of the entire Burmese force from the soil of Assam. This retreat of the Burmese army and the treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 sealed the Burmese adventurers' fate in Assam[3], and smoothened the path of the British rule in the North East of India.

It is normally believed that since Assam was not known as a country of adequate economic value , it had earlier not drawn the active attention of British expansionists under the East India Company. There is, however, reason to doubt such an assumption. Rather, factors like a hostile climate, inadequate road communications, or a country of freedom-loving people might have influenced the very decision of the British not to act in haste.

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1. A. Guha, *Planter-Raj to Swaraj*, New Delhi, 1988 (reprint), p. 2.
2. E. Gait, *A History of Assam*, Guwahati, 1984 (reprint), p. 216.
3. A. Mackenzie, *The North East Frontier of India*, Delhi, 1989 (reprint), p. 4.

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Assam bared a new horizon to the East India Company. They got a country which was scarcely populated, had vast territories with dense forests and large plains which remained uncultivated, and demoralised inhabitants ignorant of modern trade due to their village self-sufficiency. Such a position was ideal for capitalising on the situation. To quote Guha, "the idea of introducing British enterprise, capital and skill in agriculture caught the imagination of the Board of Revenue and the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Meanwhile the growing prospects of tea culture in Assam — the formation of the Tea Committee in early 1834, the starting of the government experimental tea gardens in 1836 and the first successful manufacture of Assam tea in December 1837 — made Jenkin's scheme of colonisation all the more acceptable"[4]. It was Francis Jenkins who had advocated such colonisation in his report dated 22nd July, 1833.

Prior to the arrival of the British on the scene, the people in the villages of Assam were self-sufficient, considering their demand and supply. The main occupation of these people was agriculture. Virtually every one had land for cultivation, and it provided them with all the necessities of life. It was the barter system that was then popular. In trade, though cowrie was in circulation in Assam, in pre-British period, coins were also used alongside in important trade centres, especially in border areas. Of these, the Ahom coins ranged from a whole rupee to a denomination 1/32nd its value[5]. A number of copper plates belonging to *c.* AD 1715 to 1794 have testified to the the above observation[6].

Holiram Dhekial Phukan, a great son of Assam and credited with writing the first history book in Bengali language, witnessed the transition period when the British were extending their control over Assam. He recorded in 1829 the monetary system prevailing during the period in this part of the country. During the said period, besides Ahom (*Rajah Mohree*), Koch (*Narayani*) along with the Arcot (French India) and *San Sikka* coins were in circulation in Assam and its neighbouring areas. Those coins were used, in variance, in collecting land revenue, taxes and also in trade. Phukan states that the revenue collection from upper Assam was sixty to seventy thousand

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4. Guha, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

5. C. E. Bruce *et al*, *Standard Guide to South Asian Coins And Paper Money Since 1556 A.D*, Iola, pp. 69-71.

6. M. Neog, *Pracya Sasanabali*, Guwahati, pp. 138-198.

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Rajah Mohree per year. However, as current coins varied in weight and value and were issued by different authorities, a *batta* system was in force for all the transactions[7].

Despite circulation of coins, distant markets and the scarcity of coins forced people to continue with the barter system to a large extent[8]. With the consolidation of British rule in upper Assam, their attempt to introduce uniform monetary system without adequate supply of coins simply aggravated the situation. The existing British treasuries in Assam were in no position to provide the quantum of small coins required to meet the monetary transactions in the state. Records indicate that the requirement of coins, even as early as in 1834, was quite large. The following indent submitted in August, 1834, by the Office of the Political Agent, N. F. Frontier, Gowahatty, to Fort William, Calcutta gives us a glimpse of the matter:

" Statement of the quantity of whole, half and quarter rupees and copper coinage required by the treasuries in Assam and North East Rungpore[9]:

	Whole	1/2 rupees	1/4th rupee	Total amount
N.E. Rungpore	20,000	40,000	80,000	60,000
	Copper coinage			10,000
South Central Assam	---	20,000	30,000	25,000
North Central Assam	---	1,00,000	2,00,000	1,00,000
Upper Assam	---	50,000	48,000	37,000
Sri Pergunnahs	---	24,000	48,000	24,000
Gowahatty	2,00,000	2,00,000	4,00,000	4,00,000"

7. H.D. Phukan, *Assam Buranji* (Bengali), Guwahati, 1962 (reprint), p. 78.
8. T. Agarwala (ed), *Haribilas Agarwala Bangariwar Atmajivani* (Assamese), Guwahati, 1967, p. 14.
9. Assam Secretariat File, Letter issued to Govt., I (1834-35), State Archive, Guwahati, page 120.

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Thus it is evident that the demand was for 14,60,000 pieces of coins besides copper coins worth Rs. 10,000/- *i.e.*, 6,40,000 pieces. Not only that, a note was made on the above statement which read as "Note Lieutt. Matthie wishes for 20,000 Rs. worth of 2 as. pieces if procurable to be deducted from this amount".

We have reason to believe that the above demand was probably not met with in its entirety.

The withdrawal of local currency and the introduction of British coinage in the whole of Assam, especially after Purandar Simha was deposed and pensioned in 1838, created a vacuum[10]. During the transition period and immediately thereafter, there was a great shortage of coins, especially of small denominations. The situation further deteriorated due to a sudden rise in the plantation population in Assam.

The discovery of tea plants in upper Assam in 1823, followed by the formation of Assam Company in 1839, ignited the process of opening more and more tea companies. At the close of the nineteenth century the tea gardens numbered 867. This resulted in continuous immigration of labour into the Assam plantations[11].

This influx of a large labour force, required to be paid either at task rate or on weekly payment in cash, led to a great demand of small coins. As already seen, the treasuries were not in a position to meet this demand. Therefore, the tea planters had to make their own arrangements.

At this juncture, we may examine the pattern of remuneration of tea garden labourers in North East India which will help us to understand the actual need of small coins in quantum or by denominations. For this, we have to keep in mind a few factors unusual to other industries[12]. These are:

a) Families, rather than individuals, were employed in the gardens.

b) Though rice was supplied as a part of the remuneration, the main component of payment was cash.

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10. Assam Secretariat File, File No. 399 of 1839, Bengal Govt. papers, Sl. No. 1 to 3, Guwahati.

11. Guha, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

12. P. Griffiths, *The History of the Indian Tea Industry*, London, 1967, pp. 297-301.

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c) One of the basis of fixation of wages was *hazri*. This represented a specific task which was expected to be completed in a day by the worker, and for this task, the standard daily wages were paid.

d) *Ticca* was any additional work done after completion of *hazri*, usually paid at a slightly higher remuneration.

e) Just before the second World War, the *hazri* system was replaced in many gardens by the unit system, in which payment was made for every unit of work completed. This unit was generally one *anna* worth of work, except in the case of plucking, where unit was equal to one *pice* worth.

The 1906 Labour Enquiry Committee recorded on this subject[13]. To quote: "Many gardens in Sylhet pay their labourers daily; each morning tin tickets are issued for the work of the day before; the shape of the tickets varies for a whole *hazri*, a three-quarter *hazri* and a half *hazri*. These tickets are cashed once a week, but naturally have always a money value on the garden".

The Enquiry Committee of 1921 also dealt with this matter. According to them "it is the practice, at the morning muster, to pay for the previous day's work with brass tokens of different face values; once a week the gardens cash the tokens or pay commission to a shop-keeper. These tokens to a large extent take the place of current coin in the neighbouring shops and bazaar".

Though the exact figures of wages in the tea industry in Assam for the first two decades are not available, it can be assumed that a labour used to earn between Rs.2 *annas* 8 and Rs. 8 per month. By 1860, the rate had risen to between Rs.4 and Rs.5[14]. However, the rate was not uniform at all places and for all people. Not withstanding the rate, it is evident that for making such payments, each garden needed to keep a huge number of small value coins. Since the price structure of all the necessities of life were also at a low ebb, the need for small coins cannot be over emphasised. Records indicate that the cost of one *maund* (37 kg.) of rice was Rs.2, *i.e.*, cost of one *seer* (1/40th of a *maund*) rice was Re. 0.9.6 *pices*. As the labourers never expected to buy their daily requirements in bulk, their requirements for fractional coins were on the higher side.

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13. Assam Labour Enquiry Report 1906.

14. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-306.

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The supply of coins minted by the Government was so inadequate that payment of wages posed a problem. Around 1870, with the increase in labour force, the gardens decided to introduce their own coins denominated to suit their requirements[15]. Thus a parallel currency was introduced in Greater Assam tea gardens which were nothing but tokens or close circuit money, in place of legal tender coins.

The concept of tokens was familiar to the British. In England, on account of scarcity of small change, coffee house keepers and other traders of the seventeenth century put out large numbers of tokens or trade coins. They were made of copper, brass *etc.* and bore the name and address of the issuer, the nominal value of the piece and a reference to the trade. The Turk's head token, issued in 1658 alone mentioned tea[16].

Tokens were also not a new concept in India. It is recorded that various types of tokens were in circulation in Southern India from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries[17]. Tokens were also abundantly used during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this regard, *Ram Tanka* is known to everyone, though its use in monetary transactions was very limited.

The problem of scarcity of coins in Assam was aggravated due to various reasons, including the inadequate road communication system. Sending remittance from the Calcutta mint to remote areas in Assam presented an unenviable situation. The difficult terrain and absence of proper road communication stood in the way of transport of coins from the source to the trade/tea estates in Assam. Antrobus, in his *A History of Assam Company* states as under[18]:

"There were, it is true, Government Treasuries at Jorhat and Gauhati and probably at Tezpur but they seldom had coin to the extent required by the company. It was necessary, therefore, for the Company to make it's arrangements with its bankers in Calcutta, the Union Bank, who were quite prepared to supply its wants in small coin,

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15. J.V. Scaife, "Assamese Tea Garden Tokens", *Numismatic Circular*, Spink And Son, London, January-February 1952, p. 10.
16. Ukers, *All about Tea*, I & II, New York, 1933, p. 43.
17. R. Niyogi, *Money of the People*, Calcutta , 1989, p. vii.
18. H. A. Antrobus, *A History of Assam Company, 1839-1953*, Edinburgh, 1957, pp. 356-357.

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but the Company had to get it to Assam. The Accountant General of Bengal would only send bullion by government steamer if one was available, and even then it did not proceed beyond Gauhati.

The Company had therefore to make its own arrangements for transport of this coin. There was no insurance cover for such risk, and whether the bullion was sent from Calcutta by country boat or from Gauhati after being landed there by government steamer, it was necessary to take every precaution for its safe transit to Nazira".

In this book there is also a very lively description of the situation: "The coins were packed therefore in several small parcels, to each of which were attached bamboo floats in the hope that if anything untoward did happen to the boat, these packages would float and be recovered".

The apprehension regarding the probability of coins sinking in the river while in transit was not a hypothetical one. It actually occurred in early 1847, when boxes containing coins sank in the river Gadadhar, near Dhubri, when the country boat carrying the remittance capsized[19].

The introduction of tokens in greater Assam tea gardens had a major contribution to the transaction patterns in the remote areas covered by the plantations. These tokens were denominated to suit the task rate. While some tokens had the face value other showed a task, expressed as a full, half or quarter. Besides the above, some tokens were of various shapes, the representative value of which was known to the illiterate labourers and the shops in the respective garden areas.

The introduction of tokens in Assam tea gardens had both advantages and disadvantages. For the employer, time was saved, and the problem of mobilising small coins by paying *batta* to the indigenous banker was over. There is no reason to doubt that the traders and bankers in the tea gardens found this new monetary system to their advantage. The circulation of these tokens was restricted to the place of issue. Hence, the tea labourers were virtually forced to spend their money at the approved traders/bankers of the garden to buy their day to day needs. This system virtually monopolised the

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19. File 360, 1849, Bengal Govt., Records, Letter No. 231, 19.9.1848.

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internal trade to a few, and favoured an enormous profit[20]. Thereby the up-country traders and bankers in the gardens, who had gathered from other provinces in the absence of local entrepreneurship, rendered exploitative services of trading and banking. The role of the indigenous banker cum trader in Assam tea gardens is clear from the evidence of Srijut Phani Bhusan Barua of Sibsagar, given to the Assam Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30. According to him, the *mahajans* insisted that goods be taken from their shops when a man borrows, thus ensuring a two-way profit[21]. There is no reason to believe that such bankers were kind to the garden labourers while transacting with them.

There was yet another negative dimension to this setting. The various constraints and any ill treatment meted out by the garden supervisors had to be borne by the poor labourers. The restricted value of the tokens probably forced them to stay-on in the same plantation, since their savings could only be utilised where they worked.

We now describe below the tokens which were in force in the Greater Assam tea gardens:

Metal

The tokens were made of various alloys and metals, which include brass (Dunkergool T.E.), Zinc (Diffloo T.E.), copper (Heronchhera T.E.), tin (Sylhet tea gardens), *etc.*.

Besides metallic tokens, on the eve of the second World War, coloured press boards, duly printed with the names of the tea gardens (such as Assam Company Ltd., Doomur Dulling, Lakmijan T.E.) were also in circulation. These press-board tokens were of various denominations such as 1 *anna*, 2 *annas*, 4 *annas* and 8 *annas*.

Shape

Most of the metallic tokens were round in shape, though octagonal, moon shaped tokens were also there. Many such tokens had a hole in the centre — circular, triangular or heart shaped. The hole might have served to help tie-up a number of tokens at a time for the purpose of easy counting, carrying or storage.

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20. Author's *Coins and Tokens of Post Medieval Assam* (in print).

21. The Assam Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30, S II (evidence), Shillong.

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Size

The diameter of these tokens was normally between 20.0 mm and 31.0 mm. There may have been many more sizes which are yet to be noticed or recorded.

Script

English was the common script on most of the tokens. The press-board tokens of Assam Company Ltd. were printed in Assamese. In Cachar and Sylhet, the names of many gardens were inscribed in English as well as in Bengali.

Legends

Legend in English, mentioning the name of the garden and value, was common to most of the tokens. In many of the tokens, such legends were mentioned only on one side.

Again, a few of the tokens had no value mentioned thereon, in which case the representative values were fully understood by the users by their size and shape.

Mints

A number of tokens in question were struck by Heaton's, the private mint in Birmingham, United Kingdom. However, the size and shape of many tea garden tokens indicate that at least some of them were minted at the Calcutta mint. In fact, one official notice has been traced, mentioning the tea garden token and attributing it to the Calcutta mint in 1877. It is also not denying the fact that the attitude of the Government Authority was favourable towards the plantation owners. As such, and also probably on account of a powerful lobby at Calcutta, no attempt was made by either the mint or the Government to suppress issue of tokens in lieu of small coins. According to Pridmore, many tokens appear to have been struck in the Calcutta mint, although R. Heaton & Sons (later the Mint Birmingham Ltd.) also played a large part in their manufacture[22].

Tea garden tokens remain almost barred from memory to the modern mind — a forgotten series which provides a rich source of economic history of Assam. For about a hundred years, these tokens were the mute witnesses of huge transactions that took place in the North East part of our country. Probably, tokens had not assumed such a systematic monetary role in any other part of our country, barring a few small pockets in South Indian coffee belts.

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22. F. Pridmore, *The Coin of British Commonwealth of Nations*, 2 (India), pp. 284-228.

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The author could collect the names, particulars or specimen of tokens of seventy-two tea gardens located in the Brahmaputra and Barak valley in Assam, and Sylhet (which was a part of Assam, and is now in Bangladesh). In this connection, we list hereunder the names/particulars of such gardens/tokens, compiled by N. G. Rhodes (*annexure*), which is inclusive of five tokens which were not noticed earlier. Among the prominent collectors of these tokens are/were N. G. Rhodes, J. Verner Scaife and F. Pridmore of U.K., E. Wodak of Australia, N. Anowar of Bangladesh and Vasant Choudhury of India. This author is also preserving a few pieces of such tokens in the Library of Numismatic Studies, Dhubri.

This article has been written with a view on the possibility of exploring the economic history of rural Assam from other angles in future, and the important role of the tea tokens. The author hopes that in the coming years scholars, historians as well as numismatists, will be able to throw more light on the matter[23].

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23. I am thankful to Mr. N. G. Rhodes, Kent, for providing me with all important information on the subject. I would also like to thank Dr. A Guha (Guwahati), Dr. B. N. Mukherjee (Calcutta) and Mr. Choudhury, Sheriff of Calcutta, for all guidance and help they have rendered to me in preparing this paper.

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Annexure

The author could collect the names, particulars or specimens of tokens of seventy-two tea gardens located in the Brahmaputra and Barak valley in Assam, and Sylhet (which was a part of Assam, and is now in Bangladesh). In this connection, we list hereunder the names / particulars of such gardens / tokens, compiled by N. G. Rhodes. This list is inclusive of five tokens which were not noticed earlier. Among the prominent collectors of these tokens are / were N. G. Rhodes, J. Verner Scaife and F. Pridmore of UK, E. Wodak of Australia, N. Anwar of Bangladesh and Vasant Choudhury of India. This author is also preserving a few pieces of such tokens in the Library of Numismatic Studies, Dhubri.

Sl.		Year	Metal	Denomination	Ref.
1.	Allynugger	1900/3	Brass Brass Tin Tin	Large Small Large Small	P1 - R, NA P2*, S.38*,R P3 - R P4 - R
2.	Amrail Centre			(Oval)	P - NA
3.	Anniepur	(Pre 1879)	Zinc Brass	3 Annas 2 Annas 3 Pie 9 Pie 2 Annas 3 Pie	P5* - BM P6* - P7* - P8* -
4.	B(adulipar) T(ea) E(states)		Brass	Full Hazrie Half Hazrie	P9*, S. 3* P10, S. 4*
5.	Ballacherra	1872	Brass Brass	Large Small	P11*, S 12*
6.	Basetpur	1937	Copper	Large	VC
7.	Bharaoora	1881 1901 1912	Brass As P12 AS p13	Large Small but altered date but altered date	P12 P13 P14*, S.40 P15, R (not altered date)
8.	Budderpore		Copper	One Rupee Half Rupee	P16*, S.1* P17*, S.2*
9.	Bumakandy	1872	Brass	Large Small	P18* S. 13* P.19, S. 14
10.	Chatlapore	1886/1903	Brass	Large Small	P20 P21

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Sl.		Year	Metal	Denomination	Ref.
11.	Chandpore	(1878)	Brass (Dval)	Large Small	P22 - R P23
12.	Chowtully		Brass	9 Pie	P23A
13.	Coombergram		Tin	3Annaas 2 Annas 3 Pie 9 Pie	P25*, S.5* P26*, S.5* P27*, S.5*
14.	Didarkhosh		Brass	1 Anna	R
15.	Dmamai	1894	Brass	Small	R
16.	Diffloo	(1904)	Zinc	3 Annas 9 Pie 4 (incused on 3 Annas)	P28 P29 SKB SKB
17.	Dunkergool		Brass	3 Annas	P30*, S. 27*
Sl.		Year	Metal	Denomination	Ref.
18.	Etah	1892	Brass		P31*, S..31*
19.	Fuskuri		Brass		P34A
20.	Goombira	(1900)	Brass	Large Small	P.35 P.36
21.	Heroncherra	1872	Brass	Large Small	P.37*, S.11* P.38 FM
22.	Hattikhira Tea Co. Ltd.,	1913	Brass	Small	VC
23.	Hinghi Mari	1876	Brass	Annas 2 Annas 1/2	P.39A P.39*
24.	Indanugger		Brass		P42 - B
25.	Jafflong	(1897)		Large Small	P.43 P.44
26.	Jagcherra		Brass	Large	P. - NA
27.	Jalingah		Brass	2 Annnas 3 Pie	P. - R
28.	Kaliti		Brass		P.48*, W.43
29.	Kannyhatti	(1878) 1906 1920 & ? also 1911, 1912	Brass Brass	Large Small Large Small	P.52 P.53 P54 - R P 55 P55A

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Sl.		Year	Metal	Denomination	Ref.
30.	Kapnahar	1887	Brass	3 Annas 2 Annas 3 Pies 1 Anna 6 Pies 9 Pies	P 56*, S 26* P 106? JNSI 1973 P 107 ? P 108? JNSI 1973
31.	Kekragool	(1900)	Brass	Large Small	P.57 P.58
32.	Kookeecherra		Brass	Pice (Large) 1 Pice (Small)	P.59 - Ford P.60 - FP
33.	K.D.H.P. Co. Ltd.,		Medium	SKB	
34.	Looba Cherra	1873		Large Small	P.62*, S.19* P.63, S20
35.	Luayuni	1878	Brasss	Large Small	P.64 P.65
36.	Lungla	 1884	Brass Brass	Large Small (Octagonal)	P.66*, S.15* P.67,S16* P.68*, S.24*
37.	Lungla Division		Brass		P.69*, S.25
38.	Lukshkerpore				P.69A
39.	Lydia Cherra	1872	Brass	Large Small	P.70*, S.17* P.71, S.18*
40.	Madanpore	(1900/3)	Brass	Large Small	P.72 P.73
41.	Maulvie		Brass	9 Pie	P. - NA
42.	Mahmuda		Brass	3 Annas 3 Pie	P74* - B P75* - B
43	Mazdehee	(1879)	Brass	3 Annas 3 Pice	P.76*, S.30* P.77
44.	Mertinga	1896 —	Brass Brass	 3 Annas	P - NA P 77A
45.	Moolagool		Brass		P78*, S.10*
46.	Morapore		Brass	3 Annas 2 Annas 3 Pie 9 Pie	P 79* P.80* P.81*
47.	Mornai T. E.		Brass	Large	SKB
48.	Munoo	(1878)	Brass	Large Small	P.82 P.83
49.	Noon Cherra	1873	Brass	Large Small	P.84*, S. ** P.85, S.9*

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Sl.		Year	Metal	Denomination	Ref.
50.	North Sylhet Tea Co. Ltd	(1896)	Brass	Large Small	P.85A P.85B
51.	Octavius Steel	1883	Brass	Large Small	P.86 P.87
52.	Olivia	(1990)	Brass	Large Small	P.88 P.89
53.	Oochail	1878	Brass	Large Small	P.90* P.91
54.	Parbutpore		Brass	Large (Round) Small 3 Annas (Octagonal) 3 Pie	P. 92*, S. 334* P.93, S. 35*
55.	Patra Kola	(1896/1903)	Brass	Large Small	P 96 - NA P 97
56.	Phooltullah	(1899/1990)	Brass	12 Pice 3 Pice	P 98*, W44* P 99, W45*
57.	Phul Cherra		Brass	Large Small	P 100, S28* P 101, S29
58.	Rajkie	(1898)	Brass	Large (28.5 mm) Medium (23.5mm) Small (19.5 mm)	P 102 P 103*, W46* P 104
59.	Rasidpur		Copper	Quarter Hazrie	P 109 - Ford
60.	Robi	1878	Brass	Large Small	P 110 - NA P 111
61.	Rungamattie	(1904)	Zinc	3 Annas 1/2 Anna	P 112 P 113
62.	Sagmootea	(1904)	Zinc	3 Annas 9 Pice	P 114 P 115 - KW (M.2116*)
63.	Sagurnal	(1897)	Brass	12 Pice 10 Pice 9 Pice 10/9 Pice 7 Pice 6 Pice	P 116, W 48 P 117 P 118 P 119* - R P 120 P 121, W 49*
64.	Salgunga	(Pre 1879)	Brass	3 Annas 2 Annas 3 Pie	P 132* - BM p 133*
65.	Samanbagh	(1883)	Brass	Large Small	P 134 P 135

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Sl.		Year	Metal	Denomination	Ref.
66.	Satghas	1883	Brass	Large Small	P 135A, R P?
67.	Shabazpore		Brass	3 Annas 2 Annas 3 Pie 9 Pie	P 136* - BM P 137* - SKB P 138*
68	Shumshurnugger	1878 1890?	Brass Brass Tin	Large (Octagonal) Small Large (Octagonal) Small (Round)	P 141*, S 22* P 142 P 140* S23* P 139*, S21
69.	Silloah (Suamah Valley Tea Co. Ltd.,	(1898)	Brass	Lagre Small	P 143 P 144 (M Zin*)
70.	Sisalbari		Tin	Large Small	P 145*, S32*, R P 146, S33
71.	Teckulpur	(Pre 1879)	Tin	3 Annas 2 Annas 3 Pie 9 Pie	P 150* - BM P 151* P 152
72.	Udna		Brass	Large Small	P 153*, S41* P 154, S42

Note: Exact location of the gardens of K.D.H.P. Co Ltd., is yet to be trated.

Abbreviations

B.M	British Museum
F.M.	Fitzwillan Museum
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
M.	Michael Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and their Values.*
NA	Nasim Anway
P.	F. Pridmore, *The coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations, Part 4, India*, II (Catalogue Numbers of the tokens have been mentioned)
R.	N. G. Rhodes
S.	J. Verner Scaife
SKB.	S. K. Bose
V.	Vasant Choudhury
W.	W Woodside

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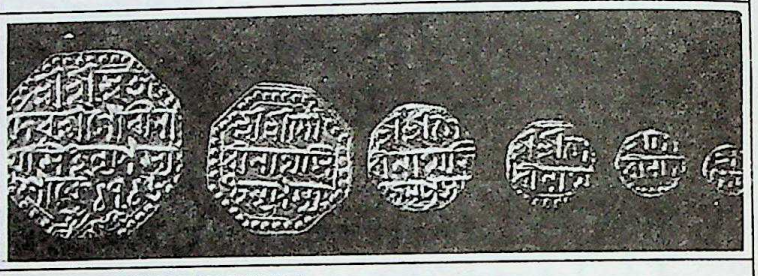
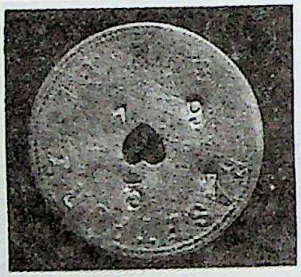
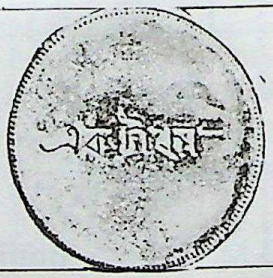
Catalogue

Sl. No.		
1.	**Ahom coins** Gourinath Simha (1780-1794 AD). Rupee to 1/32nd rupee.	
2.	**Basetpur Garden** *Obv: Basepur... Co. Sylhet 1937* (incused). *Rev:* Blank heart shaped central hole.	
3.	**Badarpur Garden** *Obv: Budder Pore One Rupee* *Rev: Ek Taka* (in Bengali)	
4.	**Diffloo Garden** *Obv:* Diffloo I (incused on 9) PICE *Rev:* As obverse.	

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5.	**Diffloo Garden** *Obv:* Diffloo 4 (incused on 3) ANNAS *Rev:* As obverse.	
6.	**Amrail Centre Garden** *Obv: The South Sylhet Tea Co. Amrail Centre.* Half moon shaped hole at top.	
7.	**Anniepore Garden** *Obv: Anniepore Garden* *Rev: 2 Annas 3 Pie.*	
8.	**Coombergram Garden** Obv: *Coombergram Cachar* *Rev: 3 Annas.* A hole in the centre.	
9.	**Didarkhosh Garden** *Obv: DK* *Rev: 1 Anna.*	

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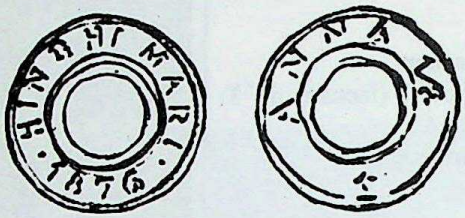
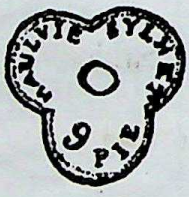
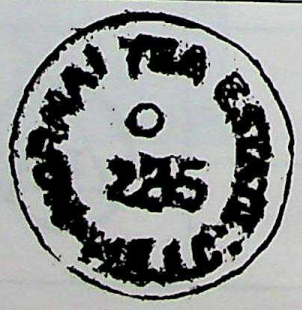
10.	**Hinghimari Garden** *Obv: Hinghi Mari 1876* *Rev: Anna 1/2* (Similar to famous Bengal tamine relief token of 1874, struck at Calcutta mint).	
11.	**Hattikhira Tea Co. Ltd.,** *Obv: Hattikhira Tea Co. Ltd 1913* *Rev:* As obverse.	
12.	**Maulvie Garden** *Obv: Maulvie Sylhet 9 Pie* *Rev:* Blank	
13.	**Mahmuda Tea Estate** *Obv: Mahmuda Tea Estate E. C. Co. Ltd. 3 Pice.* *Rev: Octavius Steel & Co. Calcutta 3 Pice.*	
14.	**Mornai Tea Estate** *Obv: Nornai Tea Estate. N. E. I. C. 235.* A hole placed above the centre	

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REMINISCENCE OF PALANPUR COINS

Pukhraj J. Surana

It was not known upto now that the Nawabs of Palanpur ever issued their own coins. It is was quite by chance that in the year 1975, I was shown some pieces of two *mohurs* (gold coins) with loops on the top. I referred the same pieces to the late Shri S. M. Shukla, who read *Zarb Palanpur* on them, and made a note of it. As far as I remember, the dates on the coins were between AH 1235 and 1275, and may be described as below:

Obv: Name of the Nawab of Palanpur Riyasat
Rev: *Zarb Palanpur* and date.

The person who showed the coins to me had promised to give two pieces from the lot the next morning. However, I came to know that the whole lot had been melted in the India Government Mint, Bombay. It is unfortunate that not a single piece from this lot of Palanpur gold *mohurs* was saved.

In course of my talks with the members of the royal family, I came to know that they have no knowledge of their own coinage.

Unfortunately, Shri S. M. Shukla was also not able to trace the note that he had made earlier. Now, the only thing one can hope for is that some coins of the Nawabs of Palanpur may come up in future, perhaps through the family members of the Nawab of Palanpur, or elsewhere. It is quite possible that the dies might

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be with the royal family, or with the family of goldsmiths which struck the coins. These coins might have been struck for circulation, or for ornamentation. It was a practice in those days to strike coins to be used as necklaces and other such objects. The said double *mohur* was also broad and neatly struck, and it may have been a *nazarana* coin to celebrate some important event of the Palanpur state, such as a coronation, marriage, or the like.

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